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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Hebron Curfewed After Grenade:

Settlers Burn Buses, Destroy Pylons

Israeli military authorities placed the heart of Hebron under curfew, July 1, after two hand grenades were hurled at an Israeli vehicle, according to some reports. The curfew followed two bus burnings, which caused thousands of dinars worth of damage, and another outbreak of vandalism by settlers from nearby Kiryat Arba against municipal electricity pylons. . . . . .

"On July 1, at 9:00 pm, a car belonging to Israeli settlers shot in the direction of a group of Hebronites who were walking around the business district of Hebron in the hours after the end of the daily fast. Palestinian residents responded by throwing rocks at the settlers. Immediately, large numbers of soldiers and border patrollers arrived in the area and placed the Bab al-Zawieh section and King Faisal Street (the main street connecting Hebron and Jerusalem) under curfew.

"The curfew caused havoc for traffic, especially as the business district is very busy in the few days before the Id al-Fitr.

"Most employees' salaries were delayed, this month, as the only bank in Hebron lays in the curfew zone." (Translation: Al Talia, July 7, 1983)

The curfew was lifted, July 5. . . . . .

Two weeks ago, Israeli troops closed off the bus and taxi station area in Hebron for one week after an alleged grenade attack on a house occupied by settlers. There was no confirmation that such an attack had taken place.

In the first of two incidents unidentified Jewish settlers set fire to a bus owned by an Arab bus company at al-Arroub camp, north of Hebron, June 30, apparently in revenge for an alleged stone-throwing incident on the same day.

The bus, a 1977 Mercedes, was set alight as it was parked for the night in front of the house of its driver, Muhammad Wahaidat. Neighbours said they noticed the flames and rushed to put out the fire. Eyewitnesses informed the bus company owners that they saw two men fleeing the site, just as they came out of their houses. The suspected arsonists escaped in a waiting car.

An unidentified caller telephoned Israel Radio the same evening and said that settlers from Gush Etzion, near Bethlehem, and Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, arsoned the bus. The caller said the sabotage was in retaliation for a stone-throwing incident near the camp in which one settler was injured. There have been no press reports that any such attack took place.

Fayez al-Qawasmi, manager of the Hebron National Bus Company, told *Al Fajr* that the damage is estimated at JD2000. He gave special thanks to the camp residents, who helped to put out the fire before it ruined the entire chassis. The company manager accused Israeli police of "inability to do anything. They registered the case as the act of an unidentified person," al-Qawasmi said.

Arab-owned bus torched by settlers in Hebron./JN

This is the second attack against the company. Six months ago, vigilantes, believed to be Jewish settlers, smashed the windshields of a bus which was parked in the town of Halhul, two kilometres north of Hebron.

The second attack took place four days later, July 3, when a bus belonging to the Wadi al-Tufah, Sibta and Bir al-Mahjar Company in the Hebron district, July 3, was burned out as it was parked overnight in the centre of the city. Windows in the bus were smashed and petrol and rags pushed through the holes.

Bus owner Sadi Hamouri discovered the blaze when smoke drifted through his house windows. When he got to the bus, it was a pile of burned metal.

Municipal fire fighters joined neighbours in extinguishing the fire. Flames from the bus destroyed electric mains and the municipality of Hebron cut the power to the area.

Sadi Hamouri, who found empty petrol cans and rags near the bus, told *Al Fajr* he has no personal enemies. He estimated his loss at JD35,000.

Hebron residents believe settler vigilantes were also behind this act, but unlike previous incidents, settlers did not claim responsibility. In an interview with Israel Radio, however, a settler spokesman pointed out that the blaze occurred in the area where the settlers car was stoned. Kiryat Arba settlers rounded off their week by destroying three electricity pylons in Khalet Dabeh and Beweira, in the Hebron district, July 3, claiming that the municipality of Hebron does not have the right to supply electricity to Palestinian residents "living in areas belonging to the Kiryat Arba settlement".

The military authorities also wrote to the municipality ordering acting-mayor Mustafa Natshe to stop extending power lines "to regions not belonging to the municipality" without obtaining a permit. The letter was sent by the "officer in charge of electricity".

In his letter the officer, Karmon, claimed the municipality had constructed new pylons and made renovations to the northeast of Qibat Kharsina without permission from his office. The Israeli officer demanded the "removal of what they had built in the area".

Acting-mayor Mustafa Natshe denied that the municipality had set up new pylons in Khalet Dabeh and Beweira. "The electric pylons there are very old," he said. He complained to the Israelis, July 3, and demanded the formation of an investigation committee to probe the Kiryat Arba settlers' practice of destroying pylons. Israeli TV, in its Hebrew news bulletin, July 4, said that the police have started investigating the acting-mayor's complaint.

A special police team went to Hebron, July 4, to calm settlers and to try to identify the persons who destroyed the pylons. The team did not go to the municipality.

An Israeli TV correspondent reported that the municipality of Hebron has always supplied electricity to areas outside municipal borders.

Explaining the week's events, Mustafa Natshe told *Al Fajr* that the settlers want to "harass the municipality to avenge its complaint to the High Court." Last week, Hebron municipality complained against the Israeli military authorities' closure of the city's bus garage. Settlers destroyed several pylons in the same area earlier this year. No arrests were made after these incidents.

The radical increase in settler actions in Hebron comes at a time when the Israeli press is beginning to print excerpts from the Karp report on settler vigilantism. Deputy attorney-general Yehudit Karp resigned her position, last month, after a report on lawlessness in the occupied territories by a committee she chaired, was ignored. According to printed excerpts she reported that complaints by Palestinians to the authorities are seldom taken seriously and that settlers frequently try to intimidate complaintants into withdrawing their charges.

In the Hebron case police have made no arrests. Military sources were quoted in Israeli papers stating that there exists in the region a band of settlement-based vigilantes who take revenge on locals after incidents against them or their vehicles.

Early last week, settlers from Kiryat Arba met with Israeli defence minister Moshe Arens and accused the military of "inaction against stone-throwers". They demanded they be given a "free hand" to deal with incidents and to be allowed to set up their own paramilitary organisation to exact revenge.

Israeli soldiers sealed off the main entrance to the Kalandia camp, population 15,000, July 5. The soldiers used metal barrels fixed with iron bars and filled with fast drying cement. *The Jerusalem Post* said the closure measure was intended to prevent residents from throwing stones at Israeli troops. Two other refugee camps had their entrances sealed recently: Dheisheh, near Bethlehem, and al-Arroub, halfway between Bethlehem and Hebron. /JN

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GEMAYEL REGIME EXPELS PALESTINIAN DIPLOMATS

Three Palestinian officials holding diplomatic passports were expelled from Beirut, July 4, 'for security reasons', sources in the Lebanese police reported, July 5.

The three Palestinians, Sabri Jiryis, the director of the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut, Colonel Yusef Rajab and Major Othman Shehadeh, liaison officers in the PLO office in Beirut responsible for the contacts with the Lebanese authorities, were arrested, June 19, by the Lebanese after an explosion near the PRC in Beirut which killed two persons. Lebanese authorities claimed that Jiryis and Yusef Rajab have relations with weapons smuggling groups.

Sabri Jiryis, his children and Othman Shehadeh were taken from the military court in Mathaf to the airport and put on a plane to France, but the French authorities refused to let them in and they were forced to go on to Tunis. Yusef Rajab was deported to Athens.

Hanna Jiryis, Sabri's wife, was killed, February 5, when the PRC was virtually destroyed in a bomb attack.

Only two Palestinian officials now remain in Beirut — Shafiq al-Hout, the director of the PLO office, and Tawfiq Safadi, responsible for refugee affairs.

KATYUSHAS HIT GALILEE FROM JORDAN

Two Katyusha rockets were fired at the Israeli settlement of Beit She'an from Jordanian territory, July 3. The attacks on the settlement, built on the ruins of the Palestinian town of Beisan, renewed Israeli fears that new attacks might be launched across the Jordan river.

The incident occured shortly after 10:30 pm, Sunday night, when the first of the two 20 kilogram rockets fell in a field. The second one followed, and it fell nearby. Israeli reports from the area said that upon hearing the rocket explosions, Israelis rushed to refuge in air raid shelters. Israeli soldiers on the border at the same time opened fire in the direction of the source of the rockets.

Later, Israeli reports said that Jordanian soldiers were seen combing the area from which the rockets had come. The reports said that the soldiers fired into thick bushes, apparently trying to flush out any commandos hiding in the area.

The attack, the first since April 1982, raised a great deal of alarm in Israeli circles. The Israeli army had reportedly concealed news of the attack for more than 12 hours, apparently in order to curb concern over the incident. The army spokesman, however, explained that they had not been certain that the attack had taken place. He said that later the Israeli army found fragments of the rockets.

Israel Radio said that there were four military attacks against Israeli targets across the Jordanian border during the past year; one Israeli soldier was killed in one, and eight others wounded in another of the attacks. There were other attacks which involved firing of Katyushas. (Translation: Al Talia, July 7, 83)

Seven Israel-Resistance Clashes in South Lebanon

There were seven confirmed attacks on Israeli positions in Lebanon between July 1 and 7. Occupation soldiers, who seem to be living under constant strain from the unending surprise raids, shot and injured two Lebanese civilians, mistakenly believing they were involved in attacks in two separate incidents.

The most serious of the attacks occurred, July 6, when Palestinian commandos rocketed an Israeli position near the village of Amiq, on the cease-fire line in the eastern Beqa'a valley. An Israeli military spokesman who reported the incident claimed that Israeli troops suffered no casualties in the incident. The spokesman added that Israeli troops responded with small arms fire at the source of the fire. Later, Israeli artillery opened up on Palestinian positions in the Beqa'a valley, in al-Burj area. The response represented a stepped-up attempt to decrease the number of attacks against Israeli targets.

The new Israeli policy was described by local observers as "heating up the military situation in the Beqa'a valley," by shelling positions across the cease-fire lines.

Among other attacks, Israeli troops said they discovered the remains of a Katyusha rocket which was fired from near Beaufort castle, near Nabatiyeh, towards the Galilee panhandle settlements. The rocket had reportedly fallen short of its target, hitting the Lebanese village of Qlai'a.

Israeli troops are maintaining a high state of alert. In addition to blowing up several cars suspected of being booby-trapped, Israeli troops opened fire twice this week on Lebanese residents, wounding two. Last week, Israeli troops shot and killed one Lebanese villager in a similar incident.

(Translation: Palestinian papers, July 1-7, 83)

BOTH SIDES SAY 'TALKS ONLY'

Internal Fighting in Beqa'a Stops

Abu Ibrahim Aboud, the representative of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat in Lebanon's Beqa'a valley, and Abu Musa, the military leader of rebels in Fatah, the largest PLO faction, agreed, July 5, to maintain the current cease-fire and "not to resort to weapons" in an effort to end the conflict. The two-sides say they will rely solely on dialogue to resolve disputes over diplomatic and military issues. The two leaders also agreed on a separation of forces in Chtoura and Masna'.

The cease-fire was broken by a small clash on the morning of July 6. Syrian troops stationed in the area intervened and stopped the fighting after 15 minutes.

The six-member PLO special committee established to reconcile the two-month dispute with Fatah oppositionists, and between the Syrian President Hafez al-Assad and the PLO chairman, ended its first stage of negotiations and contacts in Damascus and left, July 6, for Tunis. There they will meet Arafat to discuss suggestions, proposals and ideas before starting the second stage of negotiations and contacts which are expected to take place next week. The committee is expected to meet Arafat, July 6, and the PLO executive committee is scheduled to convene, July 7.

Khaled Fahoum, head of the mediation committee and the chairman of the Palestine National Council, said on leaving Damascus that the committee needs more consultations with the executive committee before resuming its work. He denied rumours that Arafat had agreed to withdraw fighters from the Beqa'a. He also refused to give more details of the ideas and suggestions they had or the progress made.

Abd al-Muhsen Abu Meizar, the official spokesman of the executive committee, told reporters that the final agreement between Arafat and the opposition will come after the convention of the general conference of Fatah.

Meanwhile, the rebels have announced their demand that Arafat issue a statement announcing collective leadership.

Major Abu Khalid Amle, another military leader, told *United Press International* that they also want Arafat to come out against dialogue with Egypt and any confederation with Jordan.

In an interview with the British newspaper, *The Guardian*, Abu Musa said that all the (recent) proposals for solving the conflict in the Middle East "do not serve the Palestinian cause or lead to the establishment of the Palestinian state".

While these rumours were circulating, Arafat announced he will adhere to the Fez Summit accords as the basis for attaining a just and durable peace in the Middle East. In a letter to the conference on Palestine which opened at UN headquarters in Geneva, July 5, Arafat demanded that European countries adopt quick procedures to implement UN decisions.

The PLO special executive committee was mandated to contact all parties concerned in the Fatah crisis and PLO-Syria relations, following their expulsion of Arafat from Damascus, June 26, at a meeting in Tunis, July 1. They left Tunis for Damascus, July 2, after being delayed for 24 hours by technical defects in the plane.

A communique, issued by the PLO executive committee on July 1, appealed to fighters in the Beqa'a to immediately stop fighting and to adhere to the principle of dialogue for solving the conflicts.

Mohammad Khalifeh, the representative of the pro-Syrian Saiqa organisation on the PLO executive, and Talal Naji, of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, did not attend the meeting.

In their statement the executive said they had examined the situation in the Palestinian arena "especially the military developments in the Beqa'a from all sides". They said they were concerned at its effect on the Palestinian struggle and Palestinian-Syrian relations and stressed the importance of "bonds of brotherhood".

The executive committee expressed its regret for the Syrian decision to expel Arafat and affirmed that Israel will use this decision to weaken the confrontation front.

Fatah fighters in Lebanon

UNRWA DEMANDS SOUTH LEBANON SECURITY

Twice in June, UNRWA Commissioner-General Olof Rydbeck made representations to the Israeli Mission in Vienna on the deteriorating security situation in South Lebanon. He appealed for all efforts to be made by Israel to ensure the safety of Palestinian refugees in the area of Lebanon controlled by Israel. The latest appeal came after three UNRWA staff members were victims of harassment in the Sidon and Tyre areas. During the past few weeks, there has been an increase in violent incidents, leaving eight refugees dead and a number wounded.

UNRWA – NGO Conference

On June 9 and 10, UNRWA staff and representatives from 25 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) met in Vienna. The conference was sponsored jointly by the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) and UNRWA. ICVA initiated the idea of the conference in hopes of better coordinating the efforts of and creating a closer relationship between UNRWA and the voluntary agencies.

The conference included NGOs from Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. The participants spent most of their time divided into three working groups discussing potential areas of UNRWA-NGO cooperation: assistance programmes, protection of refugees, and support activities (e.g. fund raising and public information), then made reports to the group as a whole.

The meeting marked the first time that UNRWA and NGOs had met in a large forum to exchange views and to discuss mutual problems. The meeting was described by co-chairman Robert Quinlan of ICVA as "extremely fruitful," and the participants expressed their interest in convening similar meetings on an annual basis.

The centre of Hebron: Curfew was imposed on the town by Israeli military authorities July 1 /JN

Massive Round-ups In West Bank and Gaza

Forty-five residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip were arrested and over 160 representatives of national institutions and merchants were summoned to police headquarters last week for interrogation about their activities and threatened with the closure of their shops and institutions.

Sixty persons, most of them union representatives and shopkeepers, were summoned to the military headquarters in Hebron. In Azoun, in the Tulkarm district, seven young men were arrested under the pretext that they had uprooted trees in the village.

In Gaza, two secondary school students were arrested during their matriculation *tawjihi* exams. Relatives of the two students, Walid Rabah Abu Shurbeh, and Ziad Berijis Wahaidi, believe that Israeli authorities intended to prevent them from sitting for the annual exams. In Beit Jala and Aida refugee camp, a group of young men were arrested.

In Kufr Na'meh, 10 kilometres west of Ramallah, 100 men, ranging in age between 16 and 60, were summoned to the police station in Ramallah and interrogated about the burning of a car belonging to another villager. (Translation: al Talia July 7, 83)

Among those arrested: Abdul Rahman Jabrini, member of the tailors union, Abd al-Fatah Jabrini, lawyers union, Taysir Maraka, secretary of the Red Crescent Society, Badran Jaber, librarian in the University Graduates Union, Mohammad Tawfik Farouk, from Sair, Younes Abdeen, shoemakers union, Samur Natshe, textile union, Khair Obeidu, drivers union, Said Fasfus, from Dura, Taysir Oweidi, shopkeeper. Oweidi was interrogated about selling T-shirts marked "I love You, Palestine". Police accused Abd al-Rahman Jabrini of distributing the shirts, but on raiding his factory found nothing.

Punishing Tax Raid on Al Fajr Man

Israeli tax men raided Ibn Khaldoun bookshop in Jenin, June 26, and imposed IS58,000 in value added tax (VAT) plus interest on him. The shop owner, Qadoura Mousa, who is the *Al Fajr* correspondent in the city, said the fine was a punishment for his association with the paper.

Mousa said that the tax men came into his shop and inspected all his account books. Apparently they were searching for violations or periods during which the shop owner did not pay his taxes. The tax men then informed the owner that they decided he owes them IS30,000 in VAT for the period from January 1982 to March 1983. They also ordered him to pay IS28,000 in interest for the delay.

Qadoura Mousa insisted that he has been paying taxes regularly every two months. He says that his bookkeeping is being done by an authorised accountant. "I have a clean slate for the period of June 19 to August 1, 1983," he said. Mousa made a written complaint to the head of the tax department in the Jenin, Nablus and Tulkarm area against the imposed tax which he says takes a large percentage of his income. He also said that he plans to fight the tax men's decision with all legal means. . . . . .

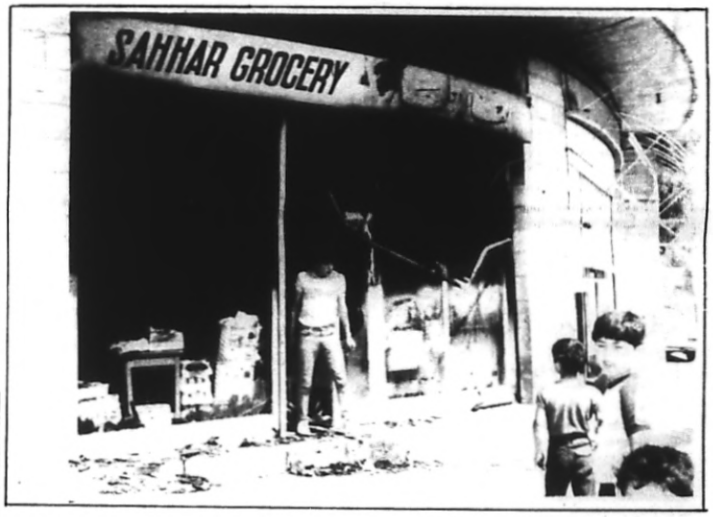
Nablus Calls for Anti-Occupation Demos

NABLUS — Nablus residents, protesting the Israeli occupation, demonstrated in the city, July 6, and distributed leaflets calling on all West Bank Arab residents to oppose the occupation during the forthcoming Id al-Fitr festivities.

Two Israeli soldiers were reportedly injured when their vehicle was stoned in the city. After the clash between demonstrators and their men, the military imposed a partial curfew on the city.

The Nablus leaflets were circulated in the Palestinian refugee camps and West Bank towns and villages.

On the same day, Palestinian flags were raised during demonstrations in the Palestinian refugee camp of Balata, near Nablus, and Sawiyah, Kufr al-Dik, Bidya, and Deir Istia, protesting against the Israeli occupation. The protestors carried placards voicing their support of the PLO. There were reports of many arrests.



Government Not Interested In 'Arab Welfare'

JERUSALEM — The Israeli government is not interested in the welfare of any of its Arab citizens in the Galilee, according to a top Israeli planner.

Professor Abraham Washman, head of the Haifa Technion's planning department, said the government considers these Arabs hostile — and likely to remain so. He stressed that planning in the Galilee region should take into consideration the special needs of its Arab citizens who make up nearly half of the total population of the Galilee. He scoffed at fears that the Galilee may secede from Israel if it is not buttressed by Jewish settlements.

In his report on long-range planning projects, Washman opposed the settlement of Jews in the central Galilee region populated by a majority of Arabs.

"Israeli's colonialist policy, aimed at keeping Arabs in a backward state, has been carried out with a vengeance in the Galilee, whose Arab citizens are feared by Israel," according to Arab journalist Attallah Mansour.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 166, July 8, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	29
Number of articles totally censored out	14
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	1
Number of articles partially censored but used	3
Number of articles passed	11

Clashes in Jordan

AMMAN - Twenty-five people were killed and dozens wounded following bloody clashes between Jordanian citizens and the army in the north of the country, according to reports from travellers from Jordan.

Clashes erupted in the wake of an angry demonstration staged by Jordanians from some of Jordan's major towns, Zarka, Jerash and Mafraq, demanding the ouster of Prime Minister Mudar Badran.

The demonstrators asked King Hussein to dismiss Badran from the cabinet. Travellers said security forces quelled the 'uprising' in a massive show of force, and arrested over 700 people.

Shop Arsoned – Third in Two Months

Thieves arsoned the Sahhar grocery store in Wadi al-Joz, Jerusalem, July 3, after stealing cartons of foreign cigarettes, alcohol and nearly IS2000 in change. The shop owners estimate the damage at JD15,000.

The fire was discovered at around 4:30 am, by employees of *Al Quds* newspaper, who were on their way home after finishing work. They said they noticed the locks of the shop were sawn off, and saw smoke coming through the screen. They immediately called the fire brigade, which took nearly two hours to put out the flames. Owners said it took so long because they were afraid bottles inside the shop might explode.

Police arrived at the scene later, inspected the shop, and spoke to the owners. No arrests have been made.

During the past few months, there have been at least three arson incidents in East Jerusalem. Two weeks ago, the Philadelphia restaurant on Zahra Street was arsoned. Some two months ago, the Jordan Distribution Company on Salah al-Din Street was completely burned out. No one has been arrested in connection with any of the incidents.

Israeli Human Rights Group Exposes Fara'a Brutality

The Israeli Association for Civil and Human Rights issued a statement, July 3, demanding the formation of an independent investigating committee to explore what is happening in Fara'a detention centre, near Jenin. The organisation wants people responsible for the brutality against Palestinian prisoners to be brought to trial.

The basis of the IACHR statement is the testimony of an Israeli soldier which revealed details of attacks on Palestinian detainees and named soldiers who beat them, giving details and describing each incident. The Israeli soldier, who gave his name and address to the organisation, said that 300 Palestinian detainees are held in Fara'a. He reported that most of them are from the secondary schools and awaiting trial, some are held without trial and the rest have been convicted by military court and are serving their sentences.

The soldier revealed that families are allowed to visit the detainees only after they have been held for two weeks. Before visits, the families are subjected to intensive checks.

"The detainees are held in huge dark rooms which the British army used as stables," the soldier said. "They are so crowded that many prisoners are transferred to tents where they sleep on thin matresses. Inside the tents, barrels serve as toilets."

The soldier reported that the detention centre is administered by soldiers on reserve duty, regular army soldiers and a military police unit. The reserve soldiers who guard the jail towers are supplied with guns loaded with live bullets.

"The prisoners are forced to have their heads shaved under the pretext of maintaining hygiene. But the prisoners consider it a humiliating and vengeful act," the soldier wrote in his testimony. (Translation: Al-Ittihad, July 5)

Thousands of Muslim worshippers gathered at Al-Aqsa Mosque and participated in the traditional sermons on the eve of the twenty-seventh day of Ramadan. The eve is described in the Qoran as 'Laylat al-Qadr' (Night of Destiny) when believers make appeals to God.

Union Elections End Islamic U. Crisis

Islamic University, Gaza, employees elected a new administrative council for their union, June 28, thus finally ending a one-month conflict which had seen strikes, lock-outs and campus battles.

Five seats of the nine-member council were won by the nationalist bloc, which also controlled the old executive, and the remaining four seats were won by the Islamic bloc. Ghazi Odeh, an Arabic language lecturer, was later elected president of the council, and Mousa Dabbour, director of the registrar's office, vice-president.

Four days before the poll, employees met the university Board of trustees and administration to discuss the recently released modified internal by-laws for the school. The new by-laws were approved and candidates for the council registered between June 26 and 27.

Election results were announced on the afternoon of the election day. There was a 20 percent difference in the nationalist and Islamic blocs' votes.

Supporters of the nationalist bloc made several concessions to reconcile differences between them and the university authorities. They dissolved the union they had unilaterally elected and allowed the incorporation of the gate-keepers — the majority of whom are known supporters of the Islamic bloc — into their constituency.

Problems started at the university after the last election, when the new union demanded immediate talks on pay and conditions and struck when the administration refused talks. There were battles between strikers and rightist mobs in early June when supporters of the university administration raided the campus.

Jerusalem Shopkeeper's Town Arrest Renewed

Israeli occupation authorities renewed the town arrest order for the second time on Abed Dandis, a resident of Jerusalem, June 30, for another six months. According to the order, Dandis, an owner of a furniture shop in Jerusalem, must remain in his home from dusk to dawn and sign in at police headquarters very day at noon.

RASHIDIYA SURVEY

A recent survey of 100 shelters at Rashidiya camp, housing 125 families, showed that only 44 of the families had working fathers. Of the remaining 81 families, 11 fathers had been killed in the fighting in Lebanon, 26 were in detention and the rest were disabled, unemployed or absent for various reasons.

Israeli Demolition of Gaza Homes 'a Crime'

Israeli soldiers demolished eight houses in Shate' refugee camp (Block O) north of the city of Gaza in two raids, on June 28 and July 4. The Israelis said they were built "without proper authorisation". Eight more houses are under threat of demolition.

The houses, some of which belong to members of the Abu Obeid and Abu Nahel families, were bulldozed by Israeli troops during the day on both occasions. The house owners and other camp residents tried to stop the demolition by stoning the soldiers, but they were outnumbered by the Israelis, who used clubs to break up the protests. During the demolition, family heads were held at the military compound for questioning, having been summoned by written order.

Before each demolition, the Israeli officer in charge of housing in Gaza informed families that they had 24 hours to evacuate their homes.

The Israelis said the five-year-old houses were built without licences. The owners argue that the military could have objected during construction or afterwards.

One Jabalia resident who witnessed the demolition described the measure as "a crime". Some of the 50-plus now homeless people are sleeping in the open. Others are crowded in with relatives.

Refugees in the Gaza area are expressing fears that the authorities might be launching a new campaign against the refugee camps.

AL FAJR SUPPLEMENT

Al Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian weekly publishes a daily supplement of English translations of selected local news items published in the four Arabic dailies: Al Fajr, Al Shaab, Al Ittihad and Al Quds. The translations, which will be of the same day's newspapers, will also include abridged versions of the editorials appearing in the four dailies. This news service by the Al Fajr (English) staff will reflect the same high standards of accuracy and quality of Enlgish translations as Al Fajr weekly.

The supplement - under the heading "The Jerusalem Dawn" - will be hand delivered daily, by lunch time, except on Sundays, to subscribers at the address they prefer.

A service charge of US $50 per month is requested for the subscription.

Cheques may be sent to Al Fajr newspaper, P.O. Box 19315, Jerusalem. For additional information, please ask at Al Fajr (English) offices, 2 Hatem Ta'ee Street, Jerusalem. Telephone: 281-035.

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A WAR TO OCCUPY

Yitzhak Shamir, the Israeli foreign minister, announced July 6 that Israel will redeploy its 50,000 troops in South Lebanon. This involves withdrawing the Israeli army south to al-Awali river in two stages over the coming five months. Shamir added that this procedure would allow Israel to continue its occupation of South Lebanon for a longer period. In a threatening tone, Shamir also said that Syria should not count much on those dovish voices in Israel who are calling for total withdrawal and for a halt of the war; this is simply not going to happen, he asserted.

So Israel at last has spelled out the motive of its war. Its invasion of Lebanon was for the purpose of occupation: to achieve certain gains from its northern neighbour which could only be achieved through the extended use of force. Israel's shotgun marriage to Lebanon only began with the war, however. It needs a continued armed presence in the country to lay the groundwork for water seizure and export markets and all the attendant smaller 'perks' it gleans as occupier.

Israel has looked longingly and lovingly toward Lebanon since 1948, envious of the other 'miracle in the Mediterranean' but fearful of engaging the Palestinian inhabitants. But under Israel's steel wing, the Phalangist government is now upending all Palestinian institutions, whether academic, economic or health-related, and Lebanesising universities, hospitals and commercial areas as Israel's last - but perhaps most insisted upon — "security demand". And for this the occupier must stay and supervise.

Israel will not withdraw from Lebanon until it is fully confident that its requirements for the new Lebanon have been not only been met but institutionalised. This takes force and time and a careful eye. By withdrawing to the al-Awali river, Israel is only hiding itself behind a thin curtain, assauging its short-sighted doves, while being ever watchful, ever ready.

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"YOU CAN ONLY WEEP"

by Yehoshua Sobol

Al Hamishmar 16.5.83

A few days after a gang of Jewish thugs uprooted several dozen electricity poles in Hebron, I met a prominent Palestinian from the town. An academic, speaking excellent English, he related quietly, calmly and in measured and precise words how he had been stripped naked and ordered to stand motionless on the same spot for 56 hours in the course of a certain investigation. Prior to that, he said, he had been tied to the rail of an open window and had had a hose pipe trained on him. A few days later he was released, after being told that he had been detained in error.

Asked what he did on his release, he replied that he went home. When asked what we Israelis who oppose such methods of investigation could do, after a moment's hesitation he said, in his soft voice and moderate tone: "You can weep. Weep for what the occupation authorities are doing to us and weep for what they are making of your society. You can weep - as the soldier who brought me food in my cell wept. You can weep as Israel Galili (Labour Member of Knesset) wept, at the meeting with your prime minister when he learned of the violence done to the civilian population of the occupied territories. Beyond that you can do nothing."

When we protested that Israel is still a democratic country where publicity and journalistic coverage of such deeds have an effect, he laughed and said: "You are wrong. You are living in a dream world. Here on the West Bank, even the will and intentions of Mr Begin are without value or effect. Here on the West Bank it is not the Israeli government that rules, nor Israeli law. Here there is another regime altogether, run by faceless, anonymous people from your security services, by military governors and gangs of settlers who behave as if they owned everything, without fear of any law. The regime whose whims we are subject to," he concluded, "does not give a damn for the government of Israel, the Knesset or Israeli law. Really, you can only weep."

KARP REPORT

The resignation of deputy attorney-general Yehudit Karp in protest against the way the government has ignored the findings of the committee which she chaired, and which had been appointed to investigate complaints about the police's failure to deal with criminal acts perpetrated against the civilian population of the West Bank, was not in reaction to the events of the last few days. It was not in response to the murder of the elderly Arab shot in the head in Bidya, when protesting against the expropriation of land, nor was it a protest against the latest rampages in Hebron during which dozens of windows of cars belonging to Arabs were smashed. True, neither the murder of the Arab in Bidya nor the nocturnal window-smashing in Hebron has been followed by any arrest. Still, Ms Karp's resignation was not related to those acts or the inaction with regard to them, but to the complete indifference of the government to the report submitted by her a year ago to the ministers of justice and the interior, and to the police; a report dealing with complaints by citizens concerning events which occurred two, three or more years ago.

The fact that for over a year the ministers have not troubled to respond to the report or draw any practical conclusions whatsoever from it indicates one of two things: either the ministers of this government choose to ignore the report because they know they have no influence on what happens in the West Bank, or the violence and murder periodically perpetrated there by unknown persons using firearms are in accordance with government policy in the territories.

ONE-SIDED SECURITY

What is that policy? The government has never stated publicly that the property and lives of the inhabitants of the West Bank are not entitled to protection. Even the leaders of the settlers have never publicly said such a thing. However, tacit acceptance of the violence and failure to catch those responsible for the incidents together indicate that these developments are apparently consistent with the government's wishes and intentions regarding the Arab population of the West Bank. On this side of the 'green line' nobody dares to give those wishes and intentions a name, but on the other side you can hear clearly what it is all about.

A man who has lived for a long time in the Shiloh settlement confirmed that the principle is accepted among settlers that the lives of the Arabs in the West Bank should be harassed and made miserable in order to encourage their emigration to Jordan. The Israeli government has never declared this to be its policy, but during the broadcasts on 'Jerusalem Day' it was reported, as a positive news item, that over the last few years a negative movement of population has characterised the West Bank — ie the number of inhabitants leaving the area was greater than the number born there. At the same time, the broadcast's producers puzzled over the, for them, 'worrying' fact that the balance of Arab movement into the Jerusalem area is positive, and in recent years a growth has been registered in the Arab population of Jerusalem itself. Take into account too that in Jerusalem law and order still rule, whereas the West Bank is becoming increasingly reminiscent of the Wild West, and you will understand with what political aims the ineffectiveness of the police and the law in the occupied territories are most consistent...

OPINION

Al Fajr invites our readers to submit letters, opinions and articles. Contributions must be signed, but names can be withheld upon request.

The Importance of A Wide Smile

by Thoma Shick

"The police at the border transit-posts of Israel (and the occupied territories—ed) will welcome tourists coming to the country with a wide smile. Dozens of police, working in passport control, are taking part, beginning today, in a special course that the Ministry of Tourism organises in an effort to increase the consciousness of politeness.

"A smile and politeness need very little personal endeavour. It is the power of a smile that might turn a tourist into our personal guest," says the minister of tourism, Abraham Sharir, in his appeal to the policemen. In a special campaign of "Smile to the Tourist", policemen have been invited from the Jordan bridges, the airports, the seaports and from other border transit-posts for a study-day in a hotel in the centre of the country. They will participate in special workshops and get explanations on the importance of tourism and the importance of a smile." (Haaretz, 22.6.83)

I think that it is not enough for the police to have such a short course in public relations and indeed public relations methods are not enough for them. After all, many kinds of people pass border-posts, including: simple Israeli Jews, wicked Israeli Jews, smuggler Israeli Jews, self-hating Israeli Jews; simple Israeli (Palestinian) Arabs, wicked Israeli (Palestinian) Arabs, smuggler Israeli (Palestinian) Arabs, our Israeli (Palestinian) Arabs, their Israeli (Palestinian) Arabs; terrorist Israeli (Palestinian) Arabs, then, simple 'Judaea', 'Samaria,' (West Bank), Gaza, (Palestinian) Golan (Syrian) (WBGG) Arabs, wicked WBGG (Palestinian or Syrian) Arabs, smuggler WBGG (Palestinian or Syrian) Arabs, terrorist WBGG (Palestinian or Syrian) Arabs; then simple Jewish tourists (from the West or from the East!), wicked Jewish tourists, smuggler Jewish tourists, self-hating (Christian missionary) Jewish tourists, Jewish tourists (politicos, terrorist self-hating Jewish tourists); then the same for Temporary Resident or New Immigrant Jews according to the above categories; then simple non-Jewish tourists, wicked non-Jewish tourists, smuggler non-Jewish tourists, anti-semite (negative Christian missionaries and/or politicos) non-Jewish tourists; volunteer (for Jews — positive!) non-Jewish tourists, volunteer (for Arabs — negative) non-Jewish tourists, pro-Zionist Christian missionaries (positive!) non-Jewish tourists, terrorist non-Jewish tourists, non-Jewish tourists, etc;

Then, simple, wicked, smuggler, friendly, non-friendly, etc. diplomats and/or UN staff;

These are the whites, then separa tely there are the same categories for blacks, Jewish, non-Jewish, tourist, diplomatic, UN, according to the same distinctions as above.

And they look so similar, all the white-skinned of all the various sorts; and they look so similar, all the black-skinned of all the sorts; how can a policeman know whether a black person is a Sudanese Palestinian, a Falasha Jew, a black American tourist, a "pretending-to-be-Jewish" American black Hebrew, or an African tourist or a diplomat? And they want him to smile at the right face! With whites it is even more difficult: and some Arabs are quite white!

How can a poor policeman have a wide smile even after a whole day of explanation about the importance of tourism and the importance of a smile, while he has to deal with all these important distinctions and classifications, about which he was trained thoroughly before he was posted at the border transit-post.

But let us not be too sarcastic about the Israeli police. Care for tourists is not a new thing with them. For a long time now the sole explanatory brochure a tourist finds on arrival at Lydda airport is the one that welcomes him on behalf of the Community Relations Division of Police Headquarters. Can there be a nicer welcome? The tourist is already a member of the community, the neighbourhood, the quarter, the *shekhuna* (slums). The brochure has useful warnings about all kinds of offences that a tourist may be victim of in Israel. In those cases of course the only and always smiling police could be at the service of the tourist (try them!).

"Make sure not to leave any bags in public places. They may be considered as security hazards and whisked away by security forces," it says among others. Poor frightened tourist — would the police's forced smile help you, then? Poor overburdened policeman! Can you sleep at night? Smile — when necessary — a smile is very important! Shout — when necessary — a shout is very impressive! Tourism is also very important, so you must be impressive! And the police are important too. It is very difficult to grant a very important and wide smile to the very important tourist at every border transit-post, obviously. But it is even harder on the Jordan brides. Imagine! Its seems easier, but it isn't. Why easier? Because on the Jordan bridges there are no Israelis; that lessens the number of people there and lessens the categories. Those Jordanians, restricting the right of movement! So only WBGG go through there, and tourists. One can obviously distinguish much easier between the two sorts from a distance.

But this is the problem. There the Arabs are overwhelmingly in majority and for them a severe countenance and mind is demanded. So, how can a miserable policeman have an important and wide smile for the occasional tourists?

It's not easy to be in the police. It's good at least that the border transit post police on the passport control are not run by the border police, because its certain that they have not been invited to go through a ministry of tourism course; at least schizophrenia is avoided.

My conclusion is, that because of the details above, the best thing would be for the police to undergo an intensive theatre arts course. Especially concentrating on mime. That could also raise their self-image as well as the opinion of people about them. After all, a theatre artist is not the police.....

A Peace Plan for the Middle East

by Abdel Karim al-Sharif

The political situation in the Middle Eastern countries is not much better than it was before the October War of 1973. On the one hand, Israel has achieved its goal of living in peace in the area only partially by signing the Camp David accords with Egypt in 1978, and later by concluding a treaty with Lebanon in 1983 which the Lebanese government had little choice but to accept and ratify.

Yet the PLO, as Israel knows very well, has not been exterminated by the 'Peace For Galilee' campaign, and could still menace Israel militarily and psychologically should radical members of the organisation take the lead in suicidal raids against Israeli targets. Besides, Syria, as heavily armed as it is, is still in a state of war with Israel, and the possibility of renewed bloodshed between Syria and Israel still looms in a nerve-racking manner.

On the other hand, the Arab countries have fared no better than Israel since the termination of the Yom Kippur War of 1973; the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip are still occupied by Israel, the Palestinian problem is far from being solved, and the despair-invoking no-war, no-peace atmosphere is presently matching its sister that prevailed prior to October 1973.

Yet the solution to the problem of the Middle East does not fall under the category of the impossible. In fact, should moderation, wisdom, and far-sightedness be demonstrated by both Israel and the Arabs, hostilities could easily be eliminated.

The Arab governments which are still hostile to Israel cannot fly in the face of certain new realities which have developed over the past years; it is clearly known that Egypt has made peace with Israel and that Israel's southern borders are now safe and secure. Lebanon, too, has been neutralised after the departure of Palestinian fighters and, especially, after Israel and Lebanon have concluded a treaty.

Despite the fact that Israel is at present stronger militarily than the Arab countries and that it still controls certain Arab territories, the Arabs do have many valuable cards in their hands. In other words, negotiation would be a matter of exchanging real tangible offers between the Israelis and the Arabs in order to satisfy the needs and rights of both sides. The Arab countries should convey to Israel two messages. Firstly: Israel could not last forever in a continuous state of war with her Arab neighbours, especially if Syria does not disarm, thereby continually posing a threat to Israel. Second: the Arab states should convince world and Israeli public opinion, by means of diplomatic campaigns, that the Arabs would be ready to recognise Israel overtly as a *de facto* political entity provided Israel displays moderation and far-sightedness in three basic respects:

I. Israel would have to rectify its Zionistic tenets and abandon its racist nationalism by agreeing to recognise and grant the Palestinian Arabs their rights to self-determination as well as to have a national homeland, and to agree to repatriate the Arab refugees who fled in 1948 by incorporating them into Israeli society and granting them full civil and political rights.

II. Israel should abandon its image as a militaristic, expansionist Sparta, and agree beforehand to withdraw its forces from the occupied territories since it is against international law to annex the land of other countries by force.

III. Israel should agree to dismantle its settlements that exist in the occupied territories in return for financial compensation to be paid for by the Arab Gulf States.

By agreeing in principle to fulfill the aforementioned conditions, Israel would be showing genuine interest in a long-term peace with the Arabs, and would be gaining the following dividends:

1. The Arab masses would finally openly accept Israel's existence in the Middle East; Syria and the other Arab countries would open full diplomatic, cultural, and trade relations with Israel.

2. The Golan Heights would be either totally or partially demilitarised and supervised by UN or multinational forces to guarantee the safety of Israel's northern borders.

3. Israel would be living next to a peaceful, free, independent, quasi-neutral Palestinian state governed by a multi-party system, confederated with Jordan, having only token forces, and its boundaries would be supervised by UN forces.

4. As for a united Jerusalem, it could be either internationalised or left as an open city run by a council of Arab and Jewish mayors.

Know Palestine

The Hardships of Life in Ramun

by Awad Abdel Fattah

To get to Ramun on public transportation is not as difficult as it was in the past. Despite the relative remoteness of the village and the mountain roads leading to it, it is only minutes away from Ramallah, thanks to a private local company which now runs a bus to the village every other hour.

Ramun is one of the eastern-most Ramallah district villages and the farthest from the city. Historical evidence of the age of the village is readily apparent and is perhaps its most interesting feature for visitors. On the far southern edge of the village, stands a striking hill occupied by old houses, some of which have been restored and are now inhabited. Dotted around are modern houses which have superseded the old. Going up to this "small castle" and walking through its silent narrow lanes, the walls of old houses testify to the residents' claim that the village's history goes back to Roman times. Reinforcing this claim are caves near the village dug out in an artistic form with interior columns.

On both sides of the road which bifurcates the village are stands of olive trees with thick hollow trunks. Residents call them 'Roman olives'. Apparently much care has been dedicated to these trees which still give fruit.

At noon, the overwhelming silence hanging over the village is suddenly broken by the call of the *muezzin* calling people to prayer. The call came from a high minaret standing in the middle of the "castle".

New residential areas sprawl over a small plain area surrounded by mountains from three sides.

Half the Population Outside

About 2500 people live today in the village of Ramun. A similar number emigrated to the US, where they opened businesses or just worked as hired labourers. "People, especially young men," said one village elder, "would go abroad because there were no reasonable jobs and wages here. I have two sons in the US and they send me money on a regular basis, but in fact I am not happy and do not support the idea of leaving."

Donations from the emigres to the local council back vital projects in the village. Annually the council now budgets for US$3-4000 in funds from relatives in the US.

However, the rest of the population seek their livelihood in Israeli factories or Palestinian-owned workshops. Like most Palestinian villages in the West Bank, the overwhelming majority of Ramun's peasants were driven into day wage labour by the Israeli occupation. According to the mukhtar, Ahmad Musa, a member in the local council, about 80 percent of the land which was worked and cultivated before 1967, extending about six kilometres east along the mountain area, has been abandoned. "This once irrigated land," the mukhtar said, "can no longer be a real source of livelihood due to the dramatic changes in the economy of the West Bank." He explained that these changes, which were caused by the Israeli occupation, are represented in the restrictions imposed on Palestinian agriculture and the fantastic capital needed to work the land.

The local council does not have official figures of how much land the village has, and how many dunums are cultivated. It estimates, however, at least 10,000 dunums. The cultivated land, which amounts to less than 1000 dunums, is scattered on the surrounding

Progress is Difficult

The existing local council has not achieved much since its establishment in 1953. "We have little money," Hussein Abd al-Nabi, who heads the council, explains. He added that since 1981, when the local council received JD15,000 from the Palestinian-Jordanian Joint Committee, "We have not received any because of the ban Israel imposed on bringing in outside money."

After the extension of electricity and water to the village years ago, a few small projects were sponsored. But many internal roads have not yet been paved and there are no streetlights. Rooms have only recently been added to the existing schools, where about 400 pupils study. High school students commute daily to Ain Yabroud village, about 15 kilometres away, which has the only secondary school in the area.

Social Activities

Despite the difficulties of life in Ramun, neither men nor women have surrendered to the mere routine of village life. Both have their own centres in the village.

A youth club was opened in 1973, a women's centre was sponsored eight years later. The club's activities are only confined to sports, while social and cultural activities were frozen three years ago. Nabih Saleh, a member of the administrative board of the club, told *Al Fajr* that continued interrogation of members of the club by the military authorities and the difficulty of obtaining a permit from the military for organising cultural and social activities, caused the sharp drop-off. "I was summoned to the military several times," said Nabih, who is a lawyer. He added that the club members, amounting today to 60, were very active in the first few years.

The major achievement of the club was the opening of a kindergarten for 40 children. "The financial support for our activities," said Nabih, "came from the local council and club membership fees." Another member of the administrative board told *Al Fajr* that they intend to revive social and cultural activities.

Women Most Active

For the last two years, the young women have been the most active element in the village. Contrary to the existing situation of women in neighbouring villages, where women still lag far behind the youths' activities, women in Ramun have broken the status quo and have challenged traditional norms.

The leading body of these activities, the women's committee with 30 members, includes workers, housewives and students. Between them they run literacy courses — so far 20 women have graduated — sewing courses as well as embroidery. Lectures on health and labour are also organised in the women's committee centre.

The women say they are not satisfied with these achievements and they hope to widen activities and recruit more women. Ghussun Abu Farha, the head of the committee and a teacher in the village girls' school, told *Al Fajr* that the committee has more plans for the future, such as a summer work camp.

Ghussun said that the old traditions concerning women have constituted a major block to many women who want to join the committee. She explained that at the beginning, opposition from parents was strong, and some women, both married and single, were even forced by their fathers and husbands to leave the committee. "But such opposition," Ghussun continued, "faded in the face of our achievements."

Ghussun admits that difficulties have not been removed from the road of the pioneering women's committee, but she is proud of and optimistic about the "inevitable change of the traditional position of the society towards women."

The Year of Fools and Liars

by Joel Marcus
Haaretz

It is no surprise that Mr Begin does not go to see the soldiers at the front or the wounded in the hospitals, attend funerals or meet with mourning parents — he simply cannot look them in the eyes. And it is justified. If he were honest when he said one year ago that he considers "every soul a full world," then it is not easy to have on his shoulders 492 full worlds gone forever, in addition to 2700 wounded — and the cup of blood is still filling up. And from one day to the next, it becomes less clear why and what for. There was no war in the past which divided the nation and its unity as has this war. I don't remember any war in the past where parents got organised and openly demanded their children be brought home while still alive. I don't remember a war in which so many soldiers were sent to jail because of their rejection of the war. On the first anniversary of the war, the IDF is making the operative preparation to stay for one more winter and the spring of 1984.

It is an unbelievable nightmare, but in this war, the unbelievable has become a fact, when the war which was supposed to take 48 hours has already lasted one year.

It is clear now that there was no basis for the bombastic announcement of the prime minister about the 40 years' silence which would prevail in the country after this war.

And our hands are tied from attacking the Syrian side, or the "terrorist" concentrations, because we are worried that they may kill our prisoners, and claim that they were killed by Israeli attack. I will not be surprised if sooner or later katyushas again fall on Kiryat Shemona. There is no truth at all to Begin's words about our recovery from the 1973 Yom Kippur War's trauma. As evidence of that, note how Syrian military maneuvers can put the whole country in a state of tension. We did not recover from any trauma as a result of this war. Besides the blood which has been shed, this war bleeds our power and belief — two elements which will be absent when we will really have to take up arms to protect our existence.

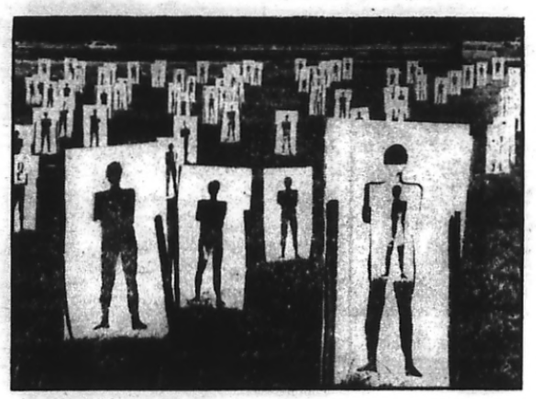
This war was a failure in all aspects. First of all, it was a military failure. If the target was to create a new order in Lebanon and to clean it of all its invaders — and it is known now that this was the target — the army should have expelled the Syrian army by surrounding it in a quick, indirect pronged outflank when they were not ready for it. But the situation today is different -- instead it adopted the dunum by dunum system, which has left half of Lebanon, after one year, in the hands of the Syrians and the "terrorists". Remember what we had occupied on three fronts in the Six Day War, 1967.

This is also a political failure. The PLO is not finished politically, and it was never so close to being a partner for dialogue with Israel. The Gemayel family hardly even rules Beirut and its surroundings, and spits in our face. The Russian involvement has become very deep, and fully blockades our free actions against Syria. Our dependence on the United States reached its critical point. Israel is on the bottom, if there at all, of the list of those who gained anything from the results of this war.

In the second year of the war, Israel is like a hunter who is proud that he succeeded to hunt a bear. But after the first burst of joy, it is not clear who got whom. We are today trapped and can neither swallow nor vomit. If we stay where we are, we will be under increasing attrition. If we withdraw to new lines, we will give our hand to *de facto* partition of Lebanon, and possible renewal of a civil war, which will increase the Syrian involvement in Lebanon. If we will not react, the "terrorists" will increase their activities. And if we will react, we may find ourselves having to fight against the Syrians.

The agreement with Lebanon made us prisoners in the hands of Syria. Even if there is a basis to Mr Begin's and the United States' optimism that the Syrians will finally withdraw from Lebanon — but they will not do so, without a heavy price — Lebanon from a security point of view is very important to Syria, no less than the West Bank is important to the security of Israel. We are in a position where we cannot make a good decision; the choice is between bad and worse decisions.

YESH GVUL: SOLDIERS MOVEMENT AGAINST THE WAR



The following is translated from the French in Inprecor, *a biweekly publication of the Fourth International.*

At a press conference on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Israeli army's invasion of Lebanon, the movement of reserve soldiers against the war in Lebanon, *Yesh Gvul* (There is a Limit), announced that it was about to receive the 2000th signature on its on-going petition to the minister of defence not to send signatories to Lebanon. Among the latest recruits are a number of senior officers in their units, the former secretary-general of the Labour Party and a Jerusalem district court judge — these two lieutenant colonels.

At the same time, some soldiers signed another petition of refusal to accept the government-bestowed Lebanon war medal. Television, radio and the daily papers devoted important sections of the balance sheets they published on the first anniversary of the war, at the beginning of June, to the soldiers' movement against the war.

There is clearly now a (reserve) soldiers movement against the war. Given the central role of the army in the very fact of the existence of the Jewish state, *Inprecor* didn't wish to limit itself to a description of the movement, but also to understand the place of a mass movement of soldiers in the perspective of the anti-Zionist struggle. Therefore, we met with three anti-Zionist militants active in *Yesh Gvul*: Meir, a metal worker, is a member of the political office of the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL) and a corporal in the commissariat's office; Yigal, a former kibbutz member and building worker, a sergeant in the armoured corps and A., a civil servant and a reserve lieutenant, — both rejoined the RCL in the course of the Lebanon war because of the perspective of their work in *Yesh Gvul*.

"When the war broke out,' Yigal told us, "and we were going to be mobilised, there was unprecedented confusion in the batallion. The majority of us didn't want this war but didn't know what to do: to go or to refuse?

"The idea of refusal was not completely new. Over the past few years there were many occasions when one had heard of soldiers who had refused to go to the occupied territories two years ago. The problem of refusing is not just the threat of punishment, or again the lack of conviction in refusing this war. The thing that is hardest is to stay behind when your friends are going. For us it was straightforward we were told we'd be in the Golan to defend the borders. The next day we found ourselves on the eastern front, facing Syrian units."

Yigal, 31, served in an elite unit during the October war (1973) which suffered many casualties; he himself was wounded. At that time his fighting didn't pose a problem: "I thought, like everyone, that the Arabs wanted to throw us into the sea, and that I was defending my life. Today, I'm one of those thousands who begin to understand that it is this myth of the aggressor that didn't wish but ill on everyone that was the power of the Israeli army. There was no need for disciplinary batallions to force fathers of families to fight, there was self-discipline based on strong personal motivation and comraderie, forged through the years in the unit."

Reactionary, colonialist, the Israeli army is none the less a people's army. The source of its strength is in the reserve units, composed of citizens-in-arms for 35 to 60 days a year, including officers. Meir: "When, over 10 or 20 years, you are every year with the same people for one or two months it creates a solidarity like that of the workshop or the factory, you don't often find it. It is the power of Zionism, but also its weakness; its stength is that as so many soldiers are persuaded that they have no choice and that sooner or later there will be peace. This type of army is very efficient. As soon as doubts loom or one understands that war is not inevitable, or that it is the Israeli side that did everything to cut off the outstretched hand of the Arabs, the same motivation becomes a boomerang; why risk your life when there is an option?

"The ceasefire which the PLO scrupulously held for the year preceding the invasion of Lebanon, the many declarations in favour of a peaceful settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and in the course of the war itself, the heroism of the Palestinian fighters and the humanitarian attitude of the Palestinian forces to Israeli POWs, all this overturned the image the Israeli soldiers had of Palestinian militants and threw light on official Zionist lies and their systematic propaganda aimed at dehumanising the enemy ("animals with two legs," cockroaches... quotes from Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and ex-Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan). There was a great gap between the basis of the motivation of the Israeli soldiers and the real objectives of the war; the powers that be had no other choice than to take antoher step on the path of lies.

Yigal: "One of the things which really shocked us was to hear on the radio, in the course of the second week of the war, that Israel had accepted a ceasefire with the Syrians, but that despite this we had been constantly attacked. At that precise moment, although the front was completely calm, we received an order to 'beat up the line'." It was the contradictory nature of this order — which was for the majority of the Israelis a new phenomenon but was not the only case — which led to the formation of the movement Soliders Against Silence . Its objective was to demand clarification of a number of orders which had cost many casualties and had extended the war well beyond the 40 kilometres which Begin had said was the sole objective of the operation 'Peace for Galilee.'

A:"The major difference between *Yesh Gvul* and Soldiers Against Silence is that we gave a practical response to the tens of thousands of soldiers who felt deceived, whereas Peace Now (from which Soldiers Against Silence sprung) was content to ask questions. We said to them "There Is a Limit" which we will not cross. Today over 2000 people have announced their refusal to go to Lebanon, and the list grows every day, whereas Soldiers Against Silence ceased to exist a long time ago.

There is a limit, but what limit? Why Lebanon and not the occupied territories, why this war and not the '67 one. "It's true that there's no fundamental difference," A. continued, for whom the Lebanon war was an extremely powerful revelation that led him from moderate Zionist positions to *Yesh Gvul* and from *Yesh Gvul* to an anti-Zionist position and the Revolutionary Communist League. "But I didn't start to understand this until today. When the war in Lebanon broke out, how many like Meir refused immediately? The *Yesh Gvul* petition, which has a very moderate formulation — *We demand not to be sent to Lebanon* — didn't start for several weeks. It was the unfolding of the war, the massacres, the lies which were confirmed publicly that this was a dirty war, that broke the national consensus. Once this first rupture was made, the road was cleared for a general confrontation with Zionist myths. How did we get there? Aren't these the same arguments used at the time of previous wars? Is it the case that these too were a result of Israeli aggression etc...? In one blow everything collapsed. Today there are many who also refuse to serve in the occupied territories..."

Meir was the first soldier to refuse to go to Lebanon, on June 7: "Disobedience is not a principle in itself; it is a tactical choice. The decision we made in the RCL on June 6, 1982, on an evaluation of the concrete situation was based on the certainty that this war would rapidly become unpopular and that therefore our appeal would be understood, and indeed that happened. At the beginning we were isolated; the first few days, all seemed to be "unfolding well" for Sharon and company; apparently it was a sacred union. Some freinds, who a few weeks later were in

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THE PURGE OF PALESTINIANS AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

by Robert I. Friedman

Almost daily something happens in Lebanon, one year after the start of the Israeli invasion, to remind the Palestinians of the slaughter of Sabra and Shatila. A car bomb guts a Palestinian-owned factory, a Beirut business dismisses its Palestinian employees without reason, hooded Christian militiamen kidnap a Palestinian on her way home from work, and her battered, sexually abused body turns up in an orange grove somewhere — if it turns up at all.

The motive behind the terror is clear: to stampede the 400,000 Palestinians living in Lebanon across the border into Syria.

But neither are the Palestinians welcome in Syria, where they are discriminated against on every level of society. So they have nowhere to go. Palestinians in Lebanon survive in a dark cage of fear. "Being Palestinian in Lebanon today," says a Palestinian writer in Beirut, "is like being a Jew in Nazi Germany."

The man behind this nightmare is Zaki Bustani, the imposing, charismatic, and thoroughly incorruptible head of the *Suretee Generale* (internal security force). Bustani is a passionate Phalangist from one of Lebanon's most prominent families. He was a devoted friend of the late Phalangist militia chief, Bashir Gemayel. Like Bashir, he detests the Palestinians, whom he blames for all his country's ills. Bustani once told the East Beirut newspaper *Al-Amal* that the Palestinians are culturally inferior to donkeys.

Entrusted by the government of Amin Gemayel to purify Lebanon of its unwelcome Palestinian 'guests', Bustani has been granted broad police powers and a huge budget. And in recent months, his power has grown to where it rivals that of the Lebanese president himself.

Bustani's hired bullies harass Palestinians where they live and work. The refugees in Beirut, not knowing what is behind the harassment, take few chances; they stay quietly, usually jobless and often moneyless within the camps, trying to disguise their Palestinian accents if they do venture out. Even so, quite a few are arrested, held *incommunicado* at a police station, and then, if they are lucky, released without charges. Most of Lebanon's Palestinians are legal residents. Only a few have Lebanese passports. The majority have *laissez-passers* or residency cards, which Bustani plans to revoke. Palestinians with no papers or forged papers have slipped away.

A prime target of Bustani's purification programme is the American University of Beirut (AUB), considered the most influential and prestigious university in the Arab world since it was founded by Presbyterian missionaries from America in 1866.

The 73-acre park-like campus, with its red-tiled roofs, cyprus groves and spectacular hilltop view of the Mediterranean, has traditionally been a melting pot for Arab elites. Among its 25,000 living alumni are many of the luminaries of the Middle East. Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salem graduated from AUB (and was, until last year, its Dean of Arts). So did Dr George Habbash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The Maronite ruling class, educated in a conservative Jesuit tradition at St. Joseph's University in East Beirut, has long viewed AUB with deep mistrust. As far as they are concerned, AUB's liberal, academic environment allowed the campus to become a 'hot bed' of Arab radicalism that spawned the 1975-76 civil war, in which the Palestinians played a prominent part.

Determined to wipe out radicalism and the Palestinian presence with a single blow, President Gemayel pressured AUB to increase the proportion of Lebanese students starting classes this fall, while making it more difficult for foreign students, especially Palestinians, to win scholarships. This year, 80 percent of AUB's student body is Lebanese, up from 50 percent just five years ago.

Meanwhile, according to university sources, Gemayel told AUB officials to either silence or dismiss its liberal faculty members. A Maronite think-tank affiliated with the university has already drawn up a hit-list of Palestinian and left leaning Lebanese professors who will be purged when the time is ripe.

In the government's most blatant effort to squeeze out Palestinians, who currently represent less than seven percent of the university's population, Bustani told AUB officials last fall that prospective students and faculty members first had to be cleared with the internal security force. Bustani backed down when the university resisted.

"Amin has stated strongly that AUB should serve Lebanon first and become a strictly Lebanese university," said Malcolm Kerr, AUB's newly instated chancellor. "His attitude has hurt the school's morale. We are currently walking a thin line with the government. We have to keep the students apolitical so we can keep the government off our backs."

In order to lessen potentially disruptive political tension on campus, Kerr banned student elections this year. Political posters and graffiti have been removed from campus walls. Last December, Lebanese flags and portraits of President Gemayel began to sprout around the campus.

Furthermore, Lebanese troops are standing guard outside AUB's main gate. And the school's 4940 students are required to carry their Lebanese identity cards along with school passes.

This state of siege, with its anti-Palestinian overtones, has Palestinians at AUB laying low, hoping that it is a phase that will pass.

The evidence indicates that the department heads in the humanities have done an admirable job in shielding students and staff from outside pressure. Palestinian students of liberal arts say that they are relaxed enough to attend class and concentrate on their studies.

But at AUB's famed medical school, trouble is brewing between the Palestinian students and the elitist, predominantly Maronite staff. Palestinians complain that admission to the medical school is weighted against them, and that even if they do get in, prejudiced Christian doctors find ways to obstruct their careers — often by writing such poor letters of recommendation that it is impossible for them to find residencies or internships. Palestinians also frequently charge that less qualified Christian students who attend an off-campus programme in East Beirut win coveted seats in the medical school simply because they are Christian.

"Medicine is the most prestigious profession in the Arab world," explains a Palestinian doctor in West Beirut. "Now that the Phalangists are ruling the roost, they are trying to close us out of the profession, at least at AUB."

Palestinian protests eventually reached Chancellor Kerr last fall. After investigating the matter, informed sources say Kerr ordered the dean of the Medical School, Raja Khoury, in a closed-door session, to end discriminatory practices.

Khoury, who was interviewed at AUB's New York City headquarters last April, angrily denied charges that Palestinians were being discriminated against at the medical centre. He argued that admittance to the medical school is based solely on computerised test scores, and that the selection committee has no way of knowing who is Palestinian or Lebanese, Christian or Muslim. Yet when pressed, Khoury admitted that letters of recommendation and personal interviews are also determining factors. He also conceded that Maronite students attending pre-medical studies in the off-campus programme in East Beirut have been accepted into the medical school with

Palestinians in Lebanon live in a dark cage of fear. 'Being a Palestinian in Lebanon today is like being a Jew in Nazi Germany'

grade point averages that are nearly 10 points lower than those of their counterparts studying pre-med on the main campus in West Beirut.

Dr Khoury said he supported the Lebanese government's decision to increase the percentage of Lebanese students attending AUB. The medical school population already has changed radically since 1974, when half of the graduating class was non-Lebanese. In 1980, only one-third was non-Lebanese. In 1983, just one-quarter of the 80 graduates will be non-Lebanese.

Kerr refused to comment on the problems at the medical school when he was interviewed in his New York office last March. He did admit that the Centre for Off-Campus Programmes (OCP), in East Beirut, is "a touchy subject." The centre was established in 1976 so that Christian students from East Beirut who found it too dangerous to cross into the western sector could still attend classes. The centre has 500 students.

"The OCP is a political problem," Kerr explained. "The people in the east have been saying, 'make it bigger and better,' while those in the west are saying, 'do away with it.' I'd say we'd certainly want to eliminate the programme when there's no need for it — to many it symbolises the partition and division of Lebanon. And we don't want there to be a need for it. But we'll have to see how it goes. If there is any lingering demand for it, we might keep it going for a while. Right now, we don't want problems with anybody."

Kerr is also very concerned about the problems facing Palestinian students and staff. "I understand that the feeling of insecurity is widespread among Palestinians. As for their charges of discrimination, I'm sure some are true and others imaginary. Fear makes the situation worse. I'm not ignoring the problem. I'm not discounting it."

Kerr admits, however, that the government is 'very sensitive' about having Palestinians on campus. "We want to hire the best faculty and have the best students we can get, but the government doesn't want us to discriminate against Lebanese, or to become a Palestinian guerilla training camp. Over the last eight years we had plenty of students on campus who were out of control."

But since the PLO and the Syrian army retreated from Beirut last summer, it has been the Gemayel government and the Phalangists who have been out of control.

Their terror tactics used against Palestinians in Beirut have spread to the area under Israeli control in South Lebanon. A recent Lebanese civil court ruling ordering the government toevict Palestinians from Mieh-Mieh refugee camp near Sidon, South Lebanon, because it is on 'illegally expropriated land', confirms Palestinians' worst fears — that they will be driven from their homes as soon as the Lebanese government establishes effective control over the region.

In the meantime, the Lebanese government is doing whatever it can to make their lives as grim as possible. The government's refusal to provide health care has become an especially serious problem. A government hospital adjacent to Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp, which was hard hit in last summer's fighting, has refused toa admit Palestinian patients, although UNRWA guarantees payment. Before the war, Ain al-Hilweh had eight PLO-run clinics and one hospital. Now two Palestinian doctors must care for more than 25,000 people. Palestinians who need hospitalisation are sent to private hospitals in Sidon or Israel. Dr Fikri Fadour, head of the Ain al-Hilweh clinic, said that many of his seriously ill patients have been turned away from the AUB medical centre hospital (AUH). "We're considered foreigners. We don't have priority," Fadour explained.

Fadour said he has two patients who need kidney dialysis. Before the war, refugees in the Sidon area could get dialysis at the PLO hospital, now closed. Although the government hospital next to Ain al-Hilweh has six units that were recently donated by the American Joint Distribution Committee, only Lebanese citizens are permitted treatment. "When we called AUH to reserve a dialysis unit for two patients," said Fadour, "they said they had place for one. We had to send the other patient to Israel."

Dr Raja Khoury vehemently denied Dr Fadour's allegations that critically ill Palestinian patients were being turned away from AUH. However, a spokesman for the Joint Distribution Committee in Jerusalem, who donated six dialysis units to the Lebanese government hospital next to Ain al-Hilweh and who works closely with AUH, said that Phalangists had threatened to kill Dr Khoury if the hospital didn't stop admitting Palestinians.

A Palestinian professor at AUB who knows Khoury says, "Khoury is a complex, charming and brilliant man who has many Palestinian friends. He is troubled by what is happening to Palestinians. But his home, family and work are in Beirut. Why should he give it all up to help Palestinians?"

Death threats, kidnappings and random killings have become daily occurrences in Beirut. The prevailing anarchy has hurt AUB. "We've lost a lot of people because of the shooting in Beirut," says Kerr. "A significant number of students and a lot of our best faculty members."

Kerr says the university's sense of insecurity was heightened last summer when the school's acting-president, David Dodge, was kidnapped at gunpoint on a busy Beirut street. He has not been seen since then. "Under the circumstances, it's easy to see why so few faculty members will stick their necks out to help us," said a Palestinian student in Beirut.

University officials say the current attitude of the Lebanese toward the Palestinians stems from the fact that in its eight-year reign in Lebanon, the PLO frequently abused its power. "The anti-Palestinian backlash is deplorable, racist, but understandable," said a Palestinian professor at AUB. "For years the PLO flouted Lebanon's rules. Now the Palestinian students can't understand why the Lebanese don't want them around."

At this point, it seems unlikely that AUB will be able to become what it once was, a nonsectarian bastion of academic freedom in the Middle East. The forces of intolerance and racism characterised by Lebanese government policy toward Palestinians in Lebanon and AUB are gaining ground.

Since AUB is an American institution chartered under the laws of New York state, and supported in part by American funds, it is a tangible expression of America's vital interests in the Middle East. As such, the US should lead the way in the fight against the narrow-mindedness and bigotry that are threatening to engulf not only AUB but Lebanon.

BOOKS BANNED IN THE WEST BANK

Al Fajr continues the list of books banned in the West Bank by the Israeli military authorities as published for the first time in cumulative form by the Israeli Defence Forces, September 20, 1982, under the title *Decrees, Orders and Stipulations: Order Regarding Hostile Propaganda.* The order is dated January 18, 1977 and is issued by Yehoshua Bar David, censor, who writes in the introduction: "Based on the authority granted to me in accordance with Article No 88 (A) from Defence Regulations (State of Emergency) 1945 and Article 8 regarding the prohibition of works of hostile propaganda (Judea and Samaria) No 101 for the year 1967 and as I believe that the order is necessary for purposes of security and public order, I hereby issue the following order... It is prohibited to import or print or distribute the publications listed below this order. All orders regarding publications which were issued before the date of this order are repealed. The effective date of this order is January 26, 1976."

Below, the emblems of Cairo and Beirut publishing houses. Both cities remain prominent publishing centres in the Arab world. Books published in these cities and other Arab capitals are banned by the Israeli authorities in the West Bank.

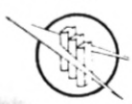
Dar al-Maarif, Cairo

Al-Ahram, Cairo

Dar Nahda Misr, Cairo

Dar al-Ilm Lilmalayin, Beirut

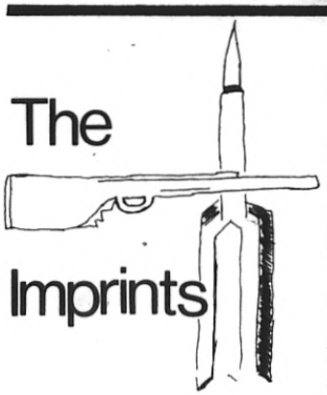
Dar al-Nafa'es, Beirut



Al Nadi al-Thaqafi al-Arabi, Beirut

Title	Author	Place of Publication Publisher
The Arab Eagle	Abdel Razzak Abdel Wahed	Baghdad — House of Education for Children
Cards of Love	Bayan Safadi	Baghdad — House of Education for Children
Where Are You From?	Sharif al-Rasi	Baghdad — House of Education for Children
The Truck Driver	Sharif al-Rasi	Baghdad — House of Education for Children
We Draw Our Victory	Sharif al-Rasi	Baghdad — House of Education for Children
The Children and the Tank	Abdel Razzak Abdel Wahed	Baghdad — House of Education for Children
Jerusalem and Our Great Battles	Mohammad Sbeih	Cairo — Dar al-Shaab
The Fall of Secularism	Anwar al-Jundy	Beirut — Dar al-Kitab al-Libnany
The Wheat and the Spears	Ahmad Abu Gharbieh	Egypt — Arab National House
The Rotary	Anwar al-Jundy	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
The Women's Liberation Movement in Islam	Anwar al-Jundy	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
Two Lies in the History of Arab Literature	Amwar al-Jundy	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
The Air Rover	Hasan Jawhar	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
The Second Advanced Scout	Hasan Jawhar	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
Walking on the Road	Mohammad Hasan	Cairo — The General Egyptian Council
Spotlight on Upbringing in Islam	Ali Qadi	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
Frank Confrontation Between Islam and its Enemies	Abdel Atheem al-Muta'ny	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
A School Song	Mohammad Sabbagh	Beirut — Dar al-Kitab al-Libnany
Jerusalem and the Arabs	Mohammad Kamel	Cairo — The General Egyptian Council
The Chemical, Biological and Atomic Wars	Abdel Aziz Sharaf	Cairo — The General Egyptian Council
The Arab World	Yusra Jawhari	Alexandria — The General Arab Committee
Enthusiasm	Jamal Abdel Latif	Cairo — Al-Azhar College Book Store
Al-Rafa'i	Jamal Abdel Ghitany	Cairo — The General Egyptian Council
Al-Aqsa Mosque	Yusef al-Athim	Beirut — The Islamic Office
Colonisation and Islam	Anwar Jundy	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
Zionism and Islam	Anwar Jundy	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
Corruption of the Interest System	Anwar Jundy	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
Civilisation in Islam	Anwar Jundy	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
The Fall of the Understanding of Nationalism	Anwar Jundy	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
The Fourth War	Hashem Ali Muhsen	Cairo — Dar al-Ansar
Israel — A Colonial Reality	Maxime Rodinson	
The Probability of a Fifth War	Abdel Sattar al-Tawileh	
The History of the Working Class in Palestine 1918-1948	Abd l Qader Yasin	Beirut — Research Centre
Political Palestinian Thought 1964-1974	Faysal Harani	Beirut — Research Centre
Social and Economic Structure In East Jordan	Hani Harani	Beirut — Research Centre
The PLO and the European Arab Dialogue	Ahmad Sidqi Dajani	Beirut — Research Centre
The Arab Oil	Atef Suleiman	Beirut — Dar al-Talia
The Essence of the Arab-Israeli Conflict	Majdia Khadeiwi	Beirut — Dar al Muttahida
The Sons of Israel in the Qoran — History and Research	Rizk al-Tawil	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
Zionist Aggression in the Arab World and the Road to Victory	Dia' al-Din al-Rayyes	Cairo — Anglo-Egyptian Book Store
The Jews After the War		Cairo — The General Egyptian Council
Israel Tends to Travel Outside		Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
October Diary in Sinai and the Golan	Abdo Mubasher	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
Public Opinion and the Psychological War	Mukhtar al-Tuhami	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
Israel's Strategy after the October War	Mustafa al-Jamal	Cairo — The Centre of Political and Strategic Studies
Diplomatic 'Sindbad'	Ahmad Abdel Jayyed	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
Preface to Military Education	Hani al-Dardiry	Cairo — The General Egyptian Council
Egyptian Sinai Through History	Ibrahim Amin Ghali	Cairo — The General Egyptian Council
The Problem of Palestine in World Opinion 1945-1967	Mahmoud Mihany	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
Israel and Folklore	Ahmad Aliu Mursen	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
Years of Torture	Haron Hashem Rashid	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
Egypt, the Arabs and Israel in the Holy Books	Mohammad Ahmad Hasan	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
The Six Hour War	Abdel Karim Darwish	Cairo — Anglo-Egyptian Book Store
The Defeated	Yousef al-Athim	Damascus — Dar al-Kalam
The Modern Arab East	Salah al-Aqqad	Cairo — Anglo-Egyptian Book Store
The War of Peace	Husni Nassar	Alexandria — Middle East House
The Five Collections	Salim Barakat	Beirut — Occupied Palestine
The Arab in Israel	Fawzi al-Asmar	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
Sinai — The Land, the War and the Evil	Salim al-Yamani	Cairo — The General Egyptian Council
The Military Zionism		Cairo — Centre for Political Studies and Strategies
The Battles of Ramadan in Sinai and the Golan	Mohammad Abdel Hamid Miri	Cairo — The World of Books
The Tragedy of June 1967	Salah Akkad	Cairo — Anglo-Egyptian Book Store
2:05 the Flood Began	Hamdi al-Knisi	Cairo — Dar al-Ma'aref
A Call of Holy War		
Faysal and the Battle of Arab Dignity	Qadry Qalajy	Dar al-Katib al-Arabi
An Arab's Experience in the Communist Party	Qadry Qalajy	Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi
The Leaders of the West Say: Destroy Islam and Demolish its People	Jalal A'elm	Tripoli
Islam in the Face of the Creeping Red	Mohammad al-Ghazali	Cairo — Al-Mukhtar al-Islami
The Red Cancer	Abdalla Azzam	Amman — Al-Aqsa Book Store
The Arab World — Its Land, People, and Resources No	Mohammad Abdel Hakeem	Cairo — Anglo-Egyptian Book Store
Poetry — A Green Lamp	Nizar Qabbani	Beirut — Nizar Qabbani Publications
Oh Muslims of the World "Unite and Face Your Enemies."	Nizar Qabbani	Beirut — Nizar Qabbani Publications
The Little Oil Lamp	Salameh al-Mughayyer	Beirut — Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi
Imported Solutions and How They Brought Crime On Our Nation	Ghassan Kanafani	Beirut — Dar al-Fata al-Arabi
	Yousef al-Qardawy	Beirut — Dar al-Risala

The Imprints



by Hussam Mustafa

With the help of his stick, he stepped out of the house after three long months. He thought of the new circumstances he would have to face; of the people who would imply pity and respect in their looks. He wouldn't be able to stop them feeling with him, and he cast strange looks at the houses, the street and the people. He thought that the war had changed things, because great events always force new and essential changes, but he felt that everything had remained as it was before the war: the same faces, the same tired, pale, determined faces. "One cannot endure without determination," he thought.

The paved street preserved its blackness. The sewer still took the dirt tirelessly.

"God be blessed that saved you, Abu Ahmad." He looked towards the voice. It was the unchanged old man: the grey hair, the wrinkled face, the ragged clothes and the constantly lit cigarette. All of a sudden, the windows were opened; women stared at him with excitement and followed his slow steps. "Nobody tries to see me from the inside," he thought. "They all imbed their looks in my lacerated leg." A woman sang as if to welcome him; the voices got louder, the voices penetrated his being:

"God be blessed that saved you!"

"Congratulations!"

"We are proud of you!"

He took broader steps and headed toward the cafe which always stimulated ambivalent feelings of familiarity and the village itself within him. All these things were not novel. During the war, he always saw their images because they were familiar; but they made him feel strange now that the peoples' looks had changed... a growing hatred for the war overpowered him.

He stepped into the cafe. All those present gazed at him. Some stood up, and he examined them all as if they were statues, beyond feeling. The meaningless smile, the yellow teeth, the tea and the nonsense-talk all mingled together. "The real disaster is that nothing has changed," he thought.

What a serious confrontation it was! He, with his stick and his rapidly beating heart, was face to face with them, in their usual clothes, their familiar faces and smiles. One man came forward to shake hands and said:

"God be blessed that saved you!"

Abu Ahmad did not reply. The man invited, "Take a seat." The man tried to help him.

"No, thanks. I can do that without help. My leg won't hinder me."

All his friends and relatives crowded round and shook hands. He kept silent and smiled faintly. One of the men shouted for the waiter and ordered drinks for all those present.

Then the people said all at once:
First man: "You were real heroes."
Second man: "Oh, if it were not for the cease-fire..."
Third man: "The most important thing is to continue our resistance in every possible way."

He heard all the comments but he had no desire to talk about the war that had ended now. The martyrs, the injured, the orphans, the widows... all these seemed to be an act in a tragedy. The audience feels sad, but directly after the show everything will be forgotten, or perhaps people will talk about them in their homes or in city bars.

Abu Hassan, a fat man in his 50s, drew near Abu Ahmad, placed his hand on his right shoulder, and spoke. Everybody listened attentively.

"We kept in touch all the time. We heard the news on the radio. We were with you in our hearts and feelings and we could smell your blood mixed with the soil. We could smell the gunpowder, you see, we shared in..." The man paused for a minute, tried to fix his *kafiya*. He sighed and continued. "In spite of everything, the blood, suffering and death, our land is still occupied. What are we to do?"

Abu Hassan stopped talking and went back to his seat. A third man came along. He was a young man with sharp eyes and a small head that suited his slim body. He gazed at Abu Hassan and burst out confidently: "It's fifty years now, and you ask us what to do? War is not only fighting, don't you understand? The war isn't over yet, is it?"

Some of the men present were bored:

"You're a good speaker. But Abu Hassan asked us what we are going to do. You are changing the subject."

A loud voice from the middle of the cafe interrupted the conversation. "I've the final instrument in my hands. A minute, and everything will blow up."

The young man smiled, then frowned and lit a cigarette. He continued, "I think you still remember the story of the old man and his seven sons."

Everyone interrupted him.

"We are not fools. We know that you are a good speaker. You didn't fight."

"Yes I did. I didn't carry a gun."

"Fighting has one stream."

"But it has many tributaries."

The noise got louder. A few men were playing dominoes. Abu Ahmad kept his distance. He heard nothing. He saw nothing. His head was about to explode.

"Oh, that hemmorhage. I feel it now. It leaves me unconscious. Pain leaks from my wound. It wants me to smile. I can now see the soldiers' feet and the tanks going past me, but the pain is fiercer now. Pain transforms me into a hollow tree trunk..." Abu Ahmad was left to his thoughts. He heard nothing.
First Voice: "We've got to startle them again!"
Third Voice: "The future will be ours!"

Abu Ahmad sank again. When the smoke covers the whole sky, and the bullets and bombs fall like rain, does one stop to see who was shot? The smoke, the smell of gunpowder, the collapse, the kissing of the earth and the strange combination of metal and flesh. Enter, strike, continue, martyrdom, victory...All these crush the element of time, and death becomes equal to life.

"Your tea, Abu Ahmad."

.....

His thoughts were divided between the larger home and the smaller house, but the words repeated themselves — so pure, so kind and so loving. 'Take care, Abu Ahmad,' his wife had said, and pushed a green package inside his uniform. He had looked at the package, and felt he wanted to hug it. "It's the war," he thought, "nobody knows." His three children crowded around like butterflies. He kissed them, patted their hair and filled his nose with their smell.

"Don't be late, Dad."

"Oh no, dear. I'll bring some sweets for you."

And he departed. When the corner of the street swallowed him, he felt his heart beating faster.

The voices inside the cafe grew louder.

"They wanted to stop us!"

"They are fools!"

The owner of the cafe sat close by, smoking his cigar. He was bored by the discussion, and he shouted impatiently: "Why talk about the war? Just leave it for those who understand it. Don't bother the man...Let him alone." He paused to see the effect of what he had said. The men continued.

"I am not able to hush these voices," he thought. But then he shouted at the waiter, "Turn the radio on. This is a cafe, not a club."

"There is nothing fiercer than confrontation," Abu Ahmad thought. "You have to face that borderline between existence and nihilism, to own the minute or to collapse."

All voices calmed down and the radio filled the place with music.

That was it...Shaking hands, kisses and innocent discussions, though the blood has not yet dried. Who knows the price of blood? Who realises that all things escape, but the essential problem haunts one's being? 'To be, or not to be?...' It is only then that one sees one's real self.
Third voice: "Turn off the radio. Let's talk."

They have to realise the bitterness one feels when a comrade falls dead. One betrays his country if he pauses even for a minute. When it is your time, advance...You've only to think of victory.

"Don't pause, Abu Ahmad. Somebody will save me. Tell my family that I'll live."

Third voice: "I pity that old woman. When they brought her son's coffin, she kept silent, her eyes glazed, and she began to dance around the corpse. She cried calmly. When she pushed off the coffin lid, she placed her face on his, kissed him and cried, 'He's not dead...He breathes...take him out of the coffin.' "

"He died," Abu Ahmad thought, "but I lost my leg. On our way to the front, we sat next to each other. We could read each others' thoughts. We could recall all pictures: the close and the far, the maimed and the silent. We had only one way."

"Your tea, Abu Ahmad!"

He felt he wanted to leave, and quickly. It was impossible for him to talk with them. He carried his stick and looked at them. They stopped talking. Their worried looks met and Abu Ahmad stepped out. Though it was cloudy, the sun was bright. The owner of the cafe said, "We'll see you, Abu Ahmad."

The chilly words struck his ears. He drew away, but the voices followed him. He tried to close his ears but he was afraid that his stick might slip and he might fall. (Translated by Izzat Ghazzawi, Al Jadid, January '81)

Window On The Arab Press

The relaxation of tension in the Beqa'a, coupled with the visit of the PLO mediation committee to the Syrian capital, was well received in the local papers. The positive results of the mediation caused a toning-down of the strong language in headlines and editorials that was evident during recent weeks in the Palestinian press.

Front-page opinions continued to be published in Al Fajr Arabic daily by prominent Palestinian national leaders calling for unity and the avoidance of armed clashes "between brothers".

The continued collective punishment and oppression in West Bank refugee camps was the major local story.

The Day of Reckoning

Another round of fighting, another congregation of martyrs, more bereaved parents and relatives.....

Another notch up the escalating spiral.....

And those corrupt Arab regimes, hiding in the shadows, gloat in glee, believing the plots hatched by their masters are beginning to succeed.

How can Arabs allow themselves to commit the unpardonable crime of acting as a Trojan horse that aims to betray their nation?

Once more, we call upon the combatants (in the Beqa'a): Stop this bloodshed.

Once more, we warn those attempting to 'usurp the Palestinian decision': you will fail. And your day of reckoning must surely come.

AL SHAAB
June 30

Meeting of The PLO Executive Committee

Against the backdrop of the worsening situation in the Lebanese Beqa'a, the PLO Executive Committee meets in Tunis to hold deliberations that could have serious implications for the Palestinian cause.

The armed in-fighting between the 'mutineers' and mainstream PLO forces is escalating by the hour, and the number of martyrs has been growing horrifically.

Observers are attaching great importance to the crucial talks in Tunis, which must be heavily influenced by recent developments in the Beqa'a.

The PLO leadership is well aware that some Arab regimes have been trying to create a vacuum within the legitimate leadership of the PLO, and deprive it of all meaning and effectiveness, to pave the way for a takeover or the imposition of their particular brand of 'trusteeship'.

But all such attempts are doomed to failure. No power on earth can issue directives to the PLO, or succeed in substituting its leadership, against the will of the Palestinian masses.

It is doubly imperative for the Executive Committee then, to take prompt action to solve the current crisis and put an end to the bloodletting in the Beqa'a.

AL QUDS
July 1

The Conspiracy Against the Palestinian People

The main objectives of the enemies of the Palestinian people has always been to shatter its backbone, Fatah, and deal a crippling blow to the PLO.

The Palestinian people is cognisant of this fact, and has the determination, and the ability to foil all such attempts.

But, regretfully, some among us have allowed themselves to be entrapped by our enemies. They have sold themselves, for purely personal and commercial benefits, to Arab intelligence circles whose sole aim is to wreak havoc in the Arab world.

These people believe that the Fatah 'mutineers' are motivated reformists — but their zeal is misdirected.

True, the Palestinian people faces many problems: but these are not insolvable. And it is the duty of all Palestinians to help find a solution.

The 'mutineers' thought they could find a solution by resorting to force. They tried to stage an armed coup for the sake of introducing reforms, a euphemism for acting in the pay of hostile Arab intelligence circles. They forgot that there was a better way of getting their reformist message across: by means of a democratic process.

AL FAJR
July 2

Clarifications

The meeting, last week, of the PLO Executive Committee in the Tunisian capital crossed 't's and dotted 'i's in its endeavour to clarify its unqualified determination to maintain the unity of the Palestinian people.

It reiterated its denunciation of internecine warfare and the need for an open dialogue which would provide a forum for the airing of all views. It would also stress the need to solve disputes peacefully.

The decisions have received the endorsement of the Palestinian people which has always condemned all efforts to sow dissention among its ranks, and to create a rift between the PLO and other national Arab organisations.

The conflict with Syria, for instance, must be viewed as a flash in the pan. It must be nipped in the bud. Nor can it be allowed to degenerate into a devastating phenomenon.

Perhaps the most serious development in the conflict was Syria's expulsion of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, a decision that can only serve the enemy — it can never be interpreted as a cure for current ills.

The special committee formed to conduct the dialogue with Syrian President Hafez Assad must be the first step on the road to recovery: it must succeed if we want to stop the needless shedding of Palestinian blood.

AL FAJR
July 3

Kahane Is The Norm

Rabbi Meir Kahane's latest threat, as conveyed to Defence Minister Moshe Arens, that he will not fail to hit hard at any Arab threatening him, has shocked us.

(Kahane has the temerity to back his threat with a quote — from the Talmud.)

But what is perhaps more shocking is the apt rejoinder by the defence ministry spokesman: "We have not replied to Kahane's letter. If he breaks the law, we will deal with him."

Had an Arab made such a pronouncement as Kahane, or a lesser one, would the ministry have waited a second longer before taking action against him, would the press have kept silent? Kahane is not a rare phenomenon here: he is no exception, but represents the worst excesses of a core of racism prevalent in Israel.

No one has brought former Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan to trial for his racist remarks against Arabs, and Rabbi Moshe Levinger, leader of Kiryat Arba's vigilante settlers, got away with a pat on the back from Arens when he demanded the right to shed the blood of Arab students and children.

What is Arens waiting for, another round of racist provocations that can only end in a bloodbath aimed at terrorising the rest of the Palestinians out of their land?

AL ITTIHAD
July 5

This Course Must Be Rejected

Now that the special PLO committee has launched its efforts at effecting a rapprochement with Syria, we should have expected the guns in the Lebanese Beqa'a to fall silent in order to give the negotiators in Damascus a chance.

But we have been startled instead, by news of the escalation in the fighting and of heightened Syrian and Libyan troop concentrations in the Beqa'a. The mutineers also intervened with their latest broadsides.

This indicates a serious departure from our traditional Arab values. Instead of trying to solve our difficulties through the legitimate channels of discourse open to them, our protagonists have adopted a strange mentality: the mentality of the military coup.

This course of action will provide a timely excuse for Arab regimes to interfere once again in the internal affairs of the Palestinian people, and tread underfoot our age-old traditional morals and values.

The only viable solution to the problem is to defend our national unity, and the legitimate Palestinian leadership, and enlist the aid of national institutions in seeking a way out.

AL SHAAB
July 4

Palestinian Arts Cause Stir in Tel Aviv

A week-long festival of Palestinian art, the first of its kind in Israel, was held at the Neve Tsedek theatre in Tel Aviv, and ended July 3 with a well attended mini-symposium that included Palestinian writers, artists and journalists.

Major activities of the week included an exhibit of paintings by Suleiman Mansour, Nabil Anani and Hagop Kaplanian , an exhibit of banned books and magazines from the occupied territories and musical evenings and theatre. The Jerusalem-based Hakawati theatre company performed two plays, *The 1001 Nights of a Stone Thrower* and *From Inside - O Ali* which were played a total of four out of the six event nights. The al-Bireh youth club folk dance troupe held an evening of *dabke* dancing.

The festival caused quite a stir in Israeli art circles. Serious critics welcomed the event, while some right-wing columnists attacked the idea that it was held at all. Israel, German and the American NBC TV and news agencies covered the events.

Akram Haniya, a prominent West Bank short story writer and editor of *Al Shaab*, praised the Tel Aviv event. He told *Al Fajr*, "Showing the unique national Palestinian culture, art and folklore is an excellent act."

Suleiman Mansour, who was unable to attend the week because of a car accident, was nevertheless keen to have his works displayed to an Israeli audience. "I think that we should take every opportunity we are given to show the depths of our Palestinian culture," he said.

Palestinians attending different portions of the festival complained that not enough top-level Palestinian artists and writers participated. Mohammad Labadi, who came from Jerusalem to attend the musical evening, complained that the *dabke* group was not up to the level of Palestinian art that should have been shown. The closing symposium, which was welcomed by many as an important opportunity to hear from and about West Bank writers, also received some criticism. Thoma Shick complained that the symposium, which was conducted mostly in Hebrew, gave little opportunity for the Palestinian writers to participate.

SCIENCE SCHOOL REOPENS AFTER STUDENT COUNCIL COMPROMISE

The Board of Trustees of the Arab Colleges of Medical Studies, under pressure from a strike by students, agreed July 3 to reopen colleges and resume studies on July 7. The board had temporarily closed the colleges, June 29, because of protracted differences with students over administrative matters.

Students of the medical colleges began a strike June 19 after the Board of Trustees refused to recognise the newly elected student council, claiming that it had members from outside the college. The students also protested the separation of the all-women nursing school from the co-ed medical technicians school. University director Dr Yasir Obeid told *Al Fajr* that the decision to separate the colleges onto two campuses had been made to assuage the parents of nursing students who had protested co-education.

According to the points of the agreement worked out through intermediaries, the board recognised the elected student council after the withdrawal of the three members who study at Abu Dis college. The two sides also agreed to the separation of the medical laboratory technicians school from the nursing college. Two separate student councils will be elected for the nursing and technicians schools, the medical technician students will be transferred to Abu Dis, while the Nursing College will remain restricted to women. Students who did not attend the exams during the strike will be allowed make-up lectures and exams.

Students from Kalandia Teacher Training Institute and Bir Zeit University sent delegations in support of the medical college students strike.

One hundred and seventy students study at the nursing college and 20 students at the Medical Technicians College.

BZU Suspends Engineering Dean

At Bir Zeit University, the administration confirmed that it froze the administrative position of Dr Rami Abd al-Hadi, dean of the Engineering College, after he opposed the BZU administration's decision to hold final exams one month before the end of the semester.

Abd al-Hadi, one of the founders of the College of Engineering, reportedly stated that engineering courses require students to listen to lectures and use university laboratories, which, he said, compels him to take a position against the closure of the university.

The administration ordered an end to teaching at the beginning of last month after campus clashes occurred, sparked by a group of Muslim fanatics. The decision to close the school was unpopular among students who accused administrators of "yielding to the Israeli-backed clan."

Reports also said that the university administration had sent warning notices to members of the Employees Union Administrative Committee expressing displeasure at the Union's condemnation of the closure decision.

ANERA

ANERA is a non-profit charitable organization assisting Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and in the refugee camps of the Middle East. Its humanitarian work will contribute to peace in the region. ANERA emphasizes lasting projects in health, education and community development.

Tax deductible contributions to ANERA or requests for information may be sent to

1522 K Street, NW, 1202 Washington, DC 20005

continued from page 8

Yesh Gvul

the *Yesh Gvul* initiative, were trying to dissuade us from taking an initiative which looked like it would isolate us and make our mobilised comrades sitting targets for repression."

Having refused to cross the frontier, Meir was sent to a rear base in Israel proper. It was there that he was reinforced in the opinion that the decision of the organisation had been the right one: "The reaction of the soldiers on the base where I was stationed was much better than I thought would be waiting for me. In the commissariat there are not many apprentice-heroes. On the whole it's the opposite, a majority were Oriental Jews, from poor neighbourhoods and immigrant towns, young workers or *lumpen*. For the most part they couldn't see why they should go and risk their lives in Lebanon. Most of them had respect for someone ready to take risks and confront the authorities for his principles."

Yigal: "In a unit like mine it's different. There the ideology is stronger. Nevertheless, if, over the years, you have shown that you are not a malingerer, that you don't run away from your responsibilities, then they respect your choice."

A., speaking after release from jail where he'd spent 21 days for refusing to join his unit in Lebanon: "At the time I was in jail we were eight soldiers and officers in the reserves sentenced for never stopped, but we were also the centre of attention generally for the other detainees, with whom we had long political discussions. By-and-large the soldiers understood us and had respect for our choice. One young man from a small immigrant town told me: 'I don't agree with you. I follow Begin. I hate the Peace Now supporters. You, on the other hand, have the courage to do what you say and not just talk... taking risks, that's what counts.' I should point out that the risks are not great, the penalties relatively light, and I know soldiers who saw that spending 20 - 30 days in a military jail was less of a risk than being killed in an ambush in Aley."

This last point was confirmed by a senior officer in a radio interview, and it is without doubt the reason for a political change on the part of the military authorities. In the beginning, the policy was to stifle the impact of a refusal to go to Lebanon, then, after the impact of the *Yesh Gvul* petition, to punish, but not beyond the usual limits of military justice; today the general staff has decided to send to Lebanon all soldiers who served a sentence for refusal to serve in Lebanon and to jail them again if they again refuse and so on. Things are bad for the Israeli army if it is forced to intensify its repressive arsenal in order to convince soldiers that they are suppposed to go there.

The impact of the soldiers' movement spread far beyond the left forces; refusing to go to Lebanon. Not only was the atmosphere between us extraordinary and the political discussions it has spread even beyond the (spectrum) of these committed (believers) gouped together in the... Committee Against the War in Lebanon (CAWL).

Yigal: "It's a paradox but those who refuse to go to Lebanon and are in *Yesh Gvul* are more 'to the right' than those of CAWL. It's the only place where you find typical Peace Now activists, at the same time several former Likud supporters, radicals, communists and anti-Zionists. This is because it is precisely in the army, in the situation of the soldiers, that you are most concretely confronted with political reality. That is, being in the army reduces to a certain extent, the barriers which are given the most weight, the most legitimacy in civilian life, to what you think even if it is very radical. It is this that also explains another apparent paradox: it is the least political, the 'green', who are the most radical and, on the contrary, the militants of left and extreme-left groups who, in *Yesh Gvul*, are often forced to restrain initiatives which would restrict the movement of tens of thousands of people who in one way or another support our fight."

Meir: "It is here that one can see why it is important that left militants do not try to escape military service, even though it is not always agreeable to serve in the repressive apparatus *par excellence* against the Palestinians. In this sense, as I said at the beginning, disobedience is not an end in itself. If we have chosen this line for the actual war, it is not necessarily because of the 'particular horror of this war', as some people say, or because it was less legitimate than the others. For us, as anti-Zionists, this war is no less criminal than that of '67 or '48. It is that in the present context, we have estimated, and it has proven true, an act of refusal to go to Lebanon has not cut us off from the large anti-war sentiment including that within our units but, on the contrary, has solidified our total oppositon to this criminal adventure.

"From that it doesn't follow that the more the crisis of Zionism deepens, the more we'll adopt a political line. On the contrary, precisely because the crisis of Zionism is and will be more and more military, in the sense that it will be manifested in the framework of armed confrontation, of war, of occupation, the army, that is to say that the best of the male population, will be at the centre of this crisis. The duty of peace activsts will be to be with their unit comrades to help them find alternatives to the suicidal politics of Zionism.

"The Lebanon war has raised, perhaps more than anything else, the validity of the militant anti-Zionists who put their bets on the possibility of breaking the sacred union and detaching an important section of Jewish workers from Zionism. It is not today another plan, but a more and more concrete scheme, like the raising of 2000 soldiers who, by their acts, have broken with the practises of the rulers of the Zionist state. Although we have for a long time made the choice of identifying with the cause of 'the enemy,' all this will allow us to have the strength to continue to wear the honest uniform of the Zionist army."

WEEKLY REVIEW

June 29, 1983

MUNICIPALITY RAIDED

RAMALLAH — Israeli customs officials raided the municipal offices of the village of Silwad, near Ramallah, and began checking and auditing their books, without prior notice or written authorisation.

Mayor Moussa Mahmoud Moussa protested vehemently to the Ramallah military governor about the raid.

VILLAGE HELD HOSTAGE

NAZARETH — Israeli border police surrounded the Triangle village of Musmus, and prevented villagers from either entering or leaving.

Police, who said they had obtained a search warrant from the court, also broke into the village library and confiscated a number of books.

After two hours, two teachers were arrested and taken away for questioning. The men were released the next day after spending the night in jail.

INSTITUTIONALISING VIGILANTISM

JERUSALEM — A delegation of Israeli settlers in the West Bank visited Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens and called on him to give them the right to form their own national guards to police their settlements, and urged stiffer penalties against Palestinian stone-throwers.

They want the authorities to demolish all Palestinian refugee homes lining the main arteries of the West Bank, and replace them with other buildings at a distance from the camps. They suggested "all known agitators and instigators against the state (sic) should be banished to Jordan."

Laws currently in force restricting the use of arms by Israeli soldiers during demonstrations should be altered, and settlers should be allowed to chase stone-throwers. The Israeli army should clamp down a curfew and seal off areas where anti-Israel opposition originates, the settlers said.

FIRE

HEBRON — Fires destroyed several orchards owned by residents of Dhahriyeh, in the Hebron district.

Residents put losses at JD10,000.

They note that fires have caused untold damage to West Bank farms and plantations in recent weeks. "This convinces us that the outbreak of fires follows a well laid, deliberate plan," they said.

ABNA' AL-BALAD

UM AL-FAHM — Two leaders of the Abna' al-Balad movement in Um al-Fahm were arrested, and then freed without charges.

The men, Khalil Muhamman Jabarin and Subhi Aghbarriyeh, were held for 24 hours. Police extended the detention of a third member, Hassan Jabarin, for another week.

PRICE SEESAW

HEBRON — The prices of some of the West Bank's staple vegetables have plumetted to their lowest levels for the current season, market sources report. However, the price of meat continues to rise dramatically.

ON THE ASKING

NABLUS — The Israeli military government began dismantling the iron gates placed at the key entrances to the Nablus qasbeh, on an appeal to the military governor by the city's Chamber of Commerce.

Deputy president of the chamber, Hafez Touqan, said he hoped the authorities would soon remove the other barriers truncating the city.

LONG SENTENCE

NABLUS — An unidentified resident of the village of Beit Liqia, near Nablus, was given a 25 year prison term after being convicted of military activities.

The military court was told the man had placed an explosive device in the Canada Park settlement, near Latroun.

Five people were injured when the bomb went off.

TAXI TRAFFIC

HEBRON — Traffic police have stopped moonlighting Hebronites, who used their private vehicles to ferry citizens around town. Up to 250 such cars filled the streets of the city, in open competition with licensed taxis.

Residents said the cars fulfilled a vital service, filling a noticeable gap in public transportation.

BALATA VOICE

NABLUS — Residents of the Palestinian refugee camp of Balata, near Nablus, held a demonstration to denounce the Syrian-Libyan assault on the PLO and voice their support for PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat.

WORKERS DISMISSED

JERUSALEM — Arabs employed by Israeli concerns at Rishon LeZion, near Tel Aviv, were dismissed after complaining to police that they had been assaulted and beaten by border police.

Several weeks ago the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality sent a cable to Histadrut Secretary General Yeroham Meshel, calling for a prompt inquiry into the allegations of assault.

NO MIGRANT HOUSING

JERUSALEM — Two Israeli members of the Knesset, Mordechai Vershowski and Dov Zakin, have called on Defence Minister Moshe Arens to find an immediate solution to the housing problem of West Bank Arabs working in Israel proper, who are forced to stay overnight at their place of work.

Police recently arrested 13 Arab workers who had sought shelter on the sand dunes of Holon, near Tel Aviv.

MINOR JAILED

RAMALLAH — A 16-year-old Arab youth from the village of Hussan, near Bethlehem, has been sentenced to three years in jail after being convicted of carrying out sabotage operations.

The youth, whose name has not been released, was accused of blowing up an abandoned house. Police said the youth had dismantled a mine he had found in a former Jordanian mine field, and then used it to blow up the house. He also planted a mine on the road leading to the house.

June 30, 1983

PUNISHED FOR POLITICS

GAZA — Some 20 secondary school students in Gaza are barred from sitting for their *tawjihi* (matriculation) examinations by administrative order of the military authorities.

The military said the students, from the refugee camps, had been disqualified because they had participated in demonstrations during the course of last year.

AFTER THE PUNISHMENT — NOT GUILTY

NABLUS — Zakariya Tahhan, a resident of Nablus, was cleared of stone-throwing charges by the Israeli military court. The bakery which he owns has been closed for two months, after he was charged with the offence.

The same court imposed a IS50,000 fine on another man, Khaled al-Akliq, after finding him guilty of a similar charge.

HEALTH HAZARD

GAZA — Residents of Beach refugee camp in Gaza are worried about epidemics because of the unchecked accumulation of raw sewage around the camp's southern perimeter. The sewage is now spread over a 20 dunum area.

COUNCIL RESIGNATIONS

TULKARM — Several members of the local council of the village of Bidya, in the Tulkarm district, tendered their resignation recently, in protest at the activities of the military authorities.

The authorities still have not appointed a new council chairman, following the death two months ago of Issa Mustafa Salameh, in a car accident.

OBSTACLES IN EILAT

EILAT — Many of the 1200 Arab workers employed in the Israeli resort town of Eilat are facing difficulties in obtaining the required 'citizen's card' that would entitle them to hold jobs in the city.

The workers charge they are being discriminated against. According to the law, any job applicant, who has been a regular tax-payer, can obtain the required permit by merely filling out a form.

While Jews are automatically issued their cards, Arab workers are required to obtain prior approval from the city's chief of police.

TOWN ARREST

JERUSALEM — The town order arrest against union leader Abed Abu Diab was extended for a fourth six-month period, until the end of 1983.

Abu Diab is legal consultant of the Federations of West Bank Labour Unions and an advisor to the general manager of the Jerusalem Electric Company.

July 1, 1983

HOUSE BURNING

BETHLEHEM — Unidentified people threw a Molotov cocktail at the home of the Dheisheh camp mukhtar, who is a member of the Village Leagues. The house was extensively damaged.

NAZARETH PROTEST

NAZARETH — The Nazareth Progressive Movement issued a statement denouncing the Syrian regime's campaign of repression against the PLO and the expulsion of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat. They urged the initiation of a 'democratic dialogue' to help solve the current conflict in the Beqa'a.

PRAYERS INTO DEMO

JERUSALEM — About 1500 worshippers left al-Aqsa Mosque after Friday prayers and marched to express their support of the PLO and Arafat. They carried Palestinian flags and pictures of Arafat.

FOR ISRAELIS ONLY

JERUSALEM — Gideon Ben Israel, head of the organisational branch of the Histadrut, the Israeli labour federation, said the organisation did not make an official complaint against a recent government order not to protect Arab workers, "in order not to embarrass it." Now the Histadrut has lodged an appeal with the Supreme Court, Ben Israel said.

He noted that the UN's International Labour Organisation (ILO) prepared a critical report on the condition of Arab workers (and of Arab child labour) in Israel, and had urged that the government allow the Histadrut to look into their situation.

He noted that some 75,000 Arabs from the occupied territories now work in Israel. At least one third of these are recruited by contractors or middlemen, and denied basic rights and privileges enjoyed by all other workers.

KARP MADE PUBLIC

JERUSALEM — The Karp Committee report on Israeli settler vigilantism is expected to be released to the public within the next few days, Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir said.

The report will be published in its entirety, after its second reading by the Knesset Judicial and Constitutional Committee.

The report, prepared by a committee headed by deputy attorney general Karp, was sharply critical of army and police negligence, as well as collusion, in the spread of settler vigilantism in the West Bank.

July 2, 1983

NEW MANAGEMENT

JERUSALEM — Former US Consul-General Brandon Grove, in charge of the West and East Jerusalem US consulates since February 1980, has been replaced by Wat Cluverius. The new consul-general will assume his responsibilities in mid-July.

STONE-THROWER SENTENCED

RAMALLAH — A Ramallah youth, Khaled Mohammad Boujah, accused of throwing stones at an Israeli vehicle, was given a three-year suspended sentence by the Israeli military court and fined IS20,000.

GIFT MOSQUE

RAMALLAH — An anonymous philanthropist, identified only as a resident of al-Bireh, donated JD10,000 and a plot of land to the Muslim religious trust *waqf* for construction of a mosque.

PARENTS WITNESS

HEBRON — Parents of Palestinian prisoners held in Hebron jail protested to the International Committee of the Red Cross against the Israeli jailers "inhuman treatment" of prisoners. The parents testified that the health of the Palestinian prisoners has deteriorated, that medical treatment is inadequate, and that food is of poor quantity and quality.

In addition, prison authorities have removed all reading and writing materials. Prisoners are not even allowed the monthly letter to their families.

HALABI TARGETED

Israel TV's Arab affairs reporter, Rafiq Halabi, had his mailbox at the entrance to the TV studios in Jerusalem smashed by vandals. Two months ago, he had the tyres of his car slashed, and recently received death threats in the mail, if he continued "in his work."

July 3, 1983

AVNERI PROTESTS DETENTIONS

Uri Avneri lodged a protest with Israeli Police and Interior Minister Yosef Burg, following the arrest of two political activists, Hassan Aghbarriyeh and Hassan Jabarin of the Abna' al Balad movement in Um al-Fahm.

SETTLERS TO JUSTICE?

JERUSALEM — Israeli Knesset member Dov Zakin demanded the prompt arrest and trial of the persons responsible for the destruction of electric pylons in Hebron. In a message to Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens, Zakin said the settlers, who uprooted the pylons yesterday, should be promptly identified, arrested and given a speedy trial.

Residents of the Kiryat Arba settlement claimed responsibility for the sabotage operation.

DUAL POLICE

JERUSALEM — Israel Radio said the Ministry of Defence is studying a police request for more investigators for the West Bank. With settlers adamant in their refusal to help Arab policemen with their investigations, the need for more Israeli police units has become particularly acute, they say.

TRAVEL BANS LIFTED

TULKARM — The Israeli military government lifted restrictions on Tulkarm residents crossing the Jordan bridges.

On the Jordanian side, officials rescinded the order banning West Bank Arabs under 40 from entering Jordan.

POLL

JERUSALEM — Only a slight majority of Israelis are in favour of the deportation of Palestinians labelled 'troublemakers', according to a PURI Institute poll conducted for *Haaretz*.

To the question, "Do you support or oppose the suggestion to deport Arab 'troublemakers' from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?", 45.9 percent answered "Yes", 39.7 percent said "No", and 5.3 percent said they supported the idea conditionally.

DESAPARACIDO FOUND

NABLUS — Rasem Abdul Jawad, 22, a salesman who disappeared a week ago, has been found by his family in Nablus prison.

CHILD KILLED

NABLUS — The corpse of a 13-year-old Palestinian child, Mushref Mahmoud Hassoun, 13, was found hanging from a tree outside his home in the Nablus village of Beit Amreen. The body was taken to Abu Kabir forensic laboratory, Jaffa, for an autopsy. He is believed to have committed suicide.

CLASH INSIDE PRISON

JERUSALEM — Two Palestinian prisoners at Beer Sheba prison, in the Naqab, were injured, one of them seriously, following a clash with Israeli inmates.

Prison authorities said dozens of inmates were involved in a melee which was sparked by a political discussion. Wardens called in large numbers of troops to separate the prisoners.

ELECTION BAN PROTESTED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli Knesset accepted an urgent motion to review an interior ministry decision banning several Galilee villages from electing their own local councils. The Communist dominated Democratic Front for Peace and Equality protested against the recent decision to exclude Mughar, Iblin, Sha'ab and Abu Snan in the Galilee and Rahat al-'Arab in the Naqab from the municipal elections scheduled for later this year.

Maghar, Iblin and Abu Snan councils were recently dissolved and replaced with administrative councils in what was seen as a political reprisal.

LEAGUE LOSES TREES

TULKARM — Seven youths from the village of Azoun, near Tulkarm, were arrested on charges of damaging an olive grove belonging to a member of the Village Leagues.

Police said the youths uprooted 80 olive trees. Residents said Israeli troops also raided the homes of several villagers following the incident.

July 4, 1983

RACIST RESERVIST

JERUSALEM — Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the extremist Kach (Thus) movement, in a letter to Defence Minister Moshe Arens, warned he will take all necessary measures against any Arab who threatens him, or places his life in danger, during his forthcoming stint of reserve army status. He said his motto is: "Kill 'em before they kill you."

Kahane is scheduled to begin his reserve duties in the West Bank July 8, although a *Jerusalem Post* report said Arens will not post him here.

July 5, 1983

TRAVEL NOT BOUND

AMMAN — Jordanian government Interior Ministry sources asserted that no restrictions have been imposed whatsoever on the movements of West Bank and Gaza Strip Arabs employed in the Gulf region. They have complete freedom of movement, they asserted, and can stop over in Jordan on their way to their homes in the West Bank.

GROWERS ANGRY

JENIN — West Bank melon growers claim they stand to lose thousands of Jordanian dinars in earnings, following the Jordanian government's decision to halt imports of their agricultural products.

NEW SETTLEMENTS 'INSIDE'

JERUSALEM — A new Israeli kibbutz was established in the 'Araba, the ninth in the area, some 52 km north of the resort town of Eilat.

The new kibbutz, 'Lothan', will be populated mainly by new Jewish immigrants from the United States, most of whom are

KUFR BIR'IM DEMO

Former residents of the Galilee village of Kufr Bir'im demonstrated in front of the Knesset to protest against the government's reneging on a pledge, and a High Court ruling to allow them to return to their homes.

Village leaders have warned that they will escalate their battle if the Israeli government does not comply with their demands. They were asked to leave the village by Zionist militiamen in 1948, for a fortnight. Since then, despite frequent court assertions that they can go back, they have been prevented from regaining their lands.

Reform Jews.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, head of the US Reform movement, which broke from Orthodoxy in the late 19th century, said it had adopted the resolution to set up new settlements in order to encourage American Jews to emigrate. He stressed that his movement was not interested in settling in the occupied territories. They expect to establish another settlement in the Galilee soon.

ALUMNI CLUB

RAMALLAH — A group of university graduates in Ramallah applied for permission to form an alumni club.

Members of the founding committee met with officials of the Department of Social Affairs in Ramallah to discuss the club's by-laws, and its aims and purposes. The committee includes teachers, doctors and lawyers.

EXPROPRIATED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli military authorities issued an expropriation order for some 5000 dunums of land in the villages of Kobar and Beitillu, in the Ramallah district. The military authorities claimed the land is "abandoned property". Landowners reject this argument.

OFRAM SETTLEMENT

JERUSALEM — The Israeli Dabeer construction firm has won the bid to set up Ofram, the new Jewish settlement in the West Bank. Ofram will have housing for 600 Jewish families. It will be populated mainly by people employed by the Israeli Communications Ministry.

CHILDREN'S CLINIC

AL-BIREH — *Inash al-Usra* (Society for the Protection of the Family) opened a new clinic in al-Bireh. It offers free treatment to children and provides them with milk and medicine at a nominal cost.

PYLONS STAY DOWN

HEBRON — The Israeli 'civil administration' asked acting Mayor Mustafa Natshe not to try to re-erect the electricity pylons pulled down by settlers earlier this week. Police have launched an investigation following receipt of complaints from Hebronites against Kiryat Arba residents, whom they accuse of being behind the vandalism.

LAND SENT BACK

NAZARETH — The state attorney-general has ruled that the decision to annex the Nazareth industrial zone to the settlement of Nazareth Elite (Upper Nazareth) was illegal. The attorney-general has subsequently issued an order nullifying the decision, and calling for a review of the case.

The Nazareth municipality had appealed to the Supreme Court against the decision, which was by a special committee set up by the Ministry of Interior.

The matter is to be reviewed by the same committee which had made the original recommendation to expropriate the land.

TOWN ARRESTED STUDENT

RAMALLAH — Salim Sbeihat, a student at Bir Zeit University, has been placed under town arrest by the Israeli military authorities.

Sbeihat may leave his village, Rummanah, in the Jenin district, only to report to the Jenin police station.

PALESTINIAN MIGRANT WORKERS: CHEAP LABOUR FOR ISRAEL

by Shani Taylor

A visitor to the occupied territories is hard pressed to find a Palestinian family that doesn't have a number of members who have emigrated to the Arabian Gulf, to Jordan and even to Europe and the Americas in search of suitable work. Since 1967, at least 180,000 residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, mostly young men between the ages of 21 and 35 have been forced to go this route because of the lack of local opportunities. According to official Israeli statistics of the working population which remains, well over a third are employed inside Israel. While the continuing expansion of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories is a highly visible feature of the occupation, the effect of this migration on the daily lives of Palestinians in the occupied territories can not be underestimated.

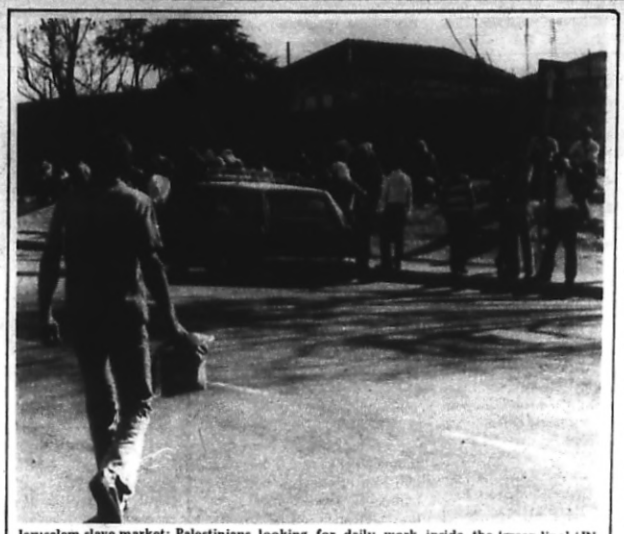
In Gaza the problem is particularly serious because of the relative lack of local employment compared to the West Bank which has a greater resource base, including more land per person. The lack of opportunities in Gaza is reflected by the 34,000 workers who commute daily to Israeli construction sites, farms, factories and market stalls. They represent an astonishing 43 percent of the Strip's work force.

These are estimates according to Israel's Ministry of Labour. Non-governmental sources put the numbers of Gazans employed inside the 'green line' even higher. The controversy over accuracy also affects general figures for the occupied territories as a whole. The latest government statistics indicated a figure of 75,000 but other reliable sources question this figure placing the number of migrants as high as 90,000 and even 110,000, including numerous day labourers.

The conditions under which these migrant workers live have provoked the occasional scandal in the Israeli press, the latest being the filthy overcrowded 'barracks' in which Palestinians are being accomodated as they build Eilat — a luxury tourist centre and Israel's answer to Miami beach. According to official statistics, some 27 percent of Gazans and 13 percent of West Bankers are sleeping most nights inside the 'green line' because of the long distances they must travel to find work. In the vast majority of cases, this is illegal, for workers from the occupied territories are not allowed to remain overnight unless they obtain special permits.

These scandals merely touch on the surface of the results of Israeli economic policies in the occupied territories rather than examine the root causes of the flow of labour power into Israel. On the surface, the reasons for such a large number of migrants is obvious: there are jobs inside the 'green line', jobs that residents of the West Bank and Gaza need. Indeed, Israeli government press releases emphasise that there is now full employment on the West Bank compared to an unemployment rate of 13 percent prior to the invasion of Lebanon. However, it cannot be ignored that full employment in Israeli concerns has meant a fundamental restructuring of the economies of the territories, leaving them with little return on the labour power they supply to the Israeli economy in terms of industrial development within the West Bank or the Gaza Strip.

This is not a new phenomenon for the occupied territories. Under the respective Egyptian and Jordanian administrations little was done for the economic infrastructure of either the Gaza Strip or the West Bank. Yet while the working class of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has grown enormously since the Israeli occupation in 1967, reflecting land alienation and population increases, the number of industrial workers actually engaged in production inside the West Bank has shrunk. The contribution of industry to the GNP has also fallen in the West Bank to a level of 4.4 percent in 1979 from 8.7 percent in 1966. Traditional workshop-oriented industry, largely in the fields of sewing, carpentry, metal work and stone cutting, is finding it increasingly difficult to compete with Israeli producers, who are protected from competition by a whole gamet of regulations enforced by the military.



Jerusalem slave market: Palestinians looking for daily work inside the 'green line'./JN

Often Palestinian workers have education above the level of that of their department managers, but their advancement opportunities are blocked.

This failure to compete and the resulting high incidence of bankruptcy is not surprising given that 94 percent of all the industrial concerns in the West Bank and Gaza Strip employ ten or less workers, compared to only 16 percent in Israel. New factories are opening in the occupied territories, giving Israeli claims that they are experiencing an economic boom surface credibility. A closer look reveals that the growth sector in the territories is in subcontracting. Israeli factories and local entrepeneurs are cooperating to take advantage of lower wage levels in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They set up factories which merely finish goods produced in Israel; subcontracting in the Gaza Strip employs 40 percent of all workers working inside the territory. This pattern is particularly prevalent in sewing factories where female labour, less mobile than male, is readily available and pitifully cheap — the average wage is US$4.75 a day; many receive less.

Within Israel, Palestinian workers from both the territories and Palestinians with Israeli citizenship form the lowest strata of the Israeli working class. While Palestinians from the territories officially only represent five to six percent of the total Israeli work force, their presence in manual occupations is overwhelming. According to a government survey just released, in 1981 a full 50 percent of workers from the occupied territories were engaged in construction, rising to 65 percent in the Jerusalem area. Twenty percent worked in services, largely hotel and restaurants, with an equal number employed in factories. Only 13 percent are engaged as agricultural labourers although 26 percent of the workers employed inside Israel were in agriculture prior to employment in Israel. This is an indication of the growth of the working class in the occupied territories.

These workers receive higher wages than they would if they worked locally – daily wage levels for workers employed in the territories averaged only 60 percent of the wages of the average worker employed in Israel. Yet the worker from the occupied territories is definitely on the lower end of the wage scales within the 'green line'. For example, according to surveys conducted by the Histadrut in 1981, the hourly wage of Palestinians from the occupied territories in the construction industry is only 50-60 percent of the average hourly wage paid to Israeli 'permanent' workers with similar qualifications. Given that half the 75,000 workers which the Israeli government recognises as being employed within the 'green line' are working in construction, the effect of this wage discrimination is of enormous benefit to the Israeli economy, particularly as Israelis are increasingly reluctant to do the manual tasks which workers from the occupied territories are now dominating.

A close look at Israeli statistics reveals the importance of the role of unequal exchange in the economic relations between Israel and the occupied territories. While the West Bank and Gaza Strip are receiving a full third of their GNP from wages earned inside the 'green line', the Israeli economy is benefiting from the fact that the average Palestinian from the occupied territories is having to work three hours to earn what an Israeli can earn in only one hour. It should be emphasised that this discrepancy in wages comes about not only as a result of outright discrimination but through differences in job classification. It is generally very difficult for workers from the territories to attain managerial or foreman status and this certainly adds to the level of job frustration.

According to Israeli statistics, the level of skills of workers from the occupied territories inside the 'green line' are improving; some 33 percent of workers were classified as skilled in 1981 compared to roughly 27 percent in 1975. This heightening of ability is lauded by the Israeli authorities, yet it does not appear to aid Palestinian workers in improving their position within the Israeli work force. The majority still hold temporary jobs in manual occupations.

This frustration increases with the level of education. Again according to official statistics, the more highly educated a West Bank or Gaza Strip resident is, the less likely they are to be able to find work inside the 'green line'. This situation also holds true for Arab citizens of Israel — the opportunities outside of manual work are slim. Not surprisingly, the emigration rate from the occupied territories reflects the lack of well paying jobs and opportunity for advancement.

According to Amira Andrianov, general secretary of the Israeli Textile Workers Union, as quoted in *Al-Hamishmar* (March 4, 1983), "The (education) level of the Arab worker is above the level of the Jewish worker. Most of the Arab workers have high school education or academic qualifications. They have no choice but to be satisfied by the monotonous work on the production line. Often they have education above the level of that of the manager of the department but their advancement opportunities are blocked."

The Role of the Histadrut

Random interviews with workers from the occupied territories reveal, not surprisingly, that they are extremely cynical about their role on the bottom rung of the Israeli working class yet their peculiar position as 'guest-workers' has blocked their ability to organise in trade unions. Officially they are not eligible to join the Histadrut (unless they are from annexed East Jerusalem) though they are supposed to "enjoy the protection of the Histadrut." Indeed, the majority would not be eligible to join because of their temporary status. In the agricultural sector for example, it takes a staggering 12 years before a worker can have permanent status and thus be a member of the Histadrut.

Those that are permanent workers and from the Jerusalem area are just as critical of the Histadrut as those workers from the territories who are merely supposed to enjoy the Histadrut's protection. Discrimination in the areas of wages, benefits, and length of the working day were cited again and again by Jerusalem residents.